

IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS IN HEBREW AND AKKADIAN  
RELATING TO THE HEAD

Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
by

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Abstract.Idiomatic Expressions in Hebrew and Akkadian Relating to the Head.David Weston Baker.

This study sets out to determine the meanings of a limited number of gestures in Hebrew and Akkadian and to compare them intra- and interlinguistically. The first chapter presents the anthropological and linguistic approaches to a study of these gestures recorded in texts, and concludes that the only method available at the moment which can determine their meanings is to analyse each in the context in which it occurs.

Chapters II - IV analyse a number of these gestures, namely those in which the object of the verb is either the head, face, forehead, cheek, or hair. It is noted that the gestures are used literally, metaphorically, symbolically, and idiomatically.

In Chapter V a comparison of the gestures in each and both languages is undertaken. First, the various contexts in which the gestures are found are studied, with a note being made of the different gestures sharing the same context, or semantic field. Then a study is made of the semantic range, or range of meaning of the various gestures. Conclusions are then drawn concerning the viability of <sup>the</sup> methodology employed in a study of phrases of this kind, as well as the assistance which can be derived by a comparative study of the gestures in providing support for an interpretation or for suggesting other possible meanings. Note is then made of the new interpretations and other information obtained by this study.



Contents.

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Contents	v
Abbreviations	vi
Chapter I     Introduction	1
Chapter II    The Head	10
Chapter III   The Face	90
Chapter IV    Parts of the Head	128
Chapter V     Comparison and Conclusion	171
Bibliography	207

## Abbreviations.

The abbreviations used are those indicated in the Provisional List of Bibliographical Abbreviations of The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, vol.9, L (1973), pp.vi-xvii, and Other Abbreviations, ibid., pp.xix-xx. Biblical abbreviations follow IDB, pp. xxix - xxxi. Additions and alterations include:-

<u>ANET</u> <sup>3</sup>	See bibliography under Pritchard, J.B.
<u>ATT</u>	Alalakh Tablet No. Cited from D.J. Wiseman, <u>The Alalakh Tablets</u> .
<u>BAL</u>	See bibliography under Borger, R.
<u>BDB</u>	See bibliography under Brown, F.
<u>BH</u> <sup>3</sup>	See bibliography under Kittel, R.
<u>BHS</u>	See bibliography under Ellinger, K.
Bright, <u>History</u>	See bibliography under Bright, J.
Cent.	Century, centuries.
Dhorme, <u>Job</u>	See bibliography under Dhorme, E.
<u>Ee</u>	<u>Enuma eliš</u>
<u>GAG</u>	See bibliography under von Soden, W.
GCBC	Goucher College Babylonian Collection number.
Gesenius-Kautsch	See bibliography under Cowley, A.E.
Gilgamesh	Cited from R.C. Thompson, <u>The Epic of Gilgamesh</u> .
<u>IDB</u>	<u>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u> . Ed. G. Buttrick.
'Idiomatic Accadian'	See bibliography under Oppenheim, A.L.
<u>IRSA</u>	E. Sollberger and J.R. Kupper, <u>Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes</u> (1971).

Kas.	Kassite
<u>KB</u>	<u>Keilinschrift Bibliothek</u> ; see bibliography under Koehler, L.
<u>KB</u> <sup>3</sup>	See bibliography under Koehler, L.
<u>LAS</u>	See bibliography under Parpola, S.
LE	Laws of Eshnunna, cited from A. Goetze, <u>The Laws of Eshnunna</u> .
<u>L'emploi</u>	See bibliography under Dhorme, E.
<u>LFM</u>	A.L. Oppenheim, <u>Letters from Mesopotamia</u> (1967).
LH	Laws of Hammurabi, cited from E. Bergmann, ed., <u>Codex Hammurabi: Textes</u> .
LXX	Septuagint, cited from A. Rahlfs, ed., <u>Septuaginta</u> .
MNB	Louvre (Musées Nationaux, B) number.
MT	Masoretic Text.
<u>NEB</u>	<u>New English Bible</u> .
<u>Or. NS</u>	<u>Orientalia New Series</u> .
<u>OTL</u>	Old Testament Library
Peake	See bibliography under Black, M.
Pognon, <u>Inscriptions sémitiques</u>	H. Pognon, <u>Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossul</u> , 2 vol. (1907-1908).
SU	Tablets from Sultantepe-Urfa.
<u>Thontalfelfund</u> .	See bibliography under Winckler, H.
W	See bibliography under Weiser, A.

## Chapter I      Introduction

The problem with which this thesis will deal is the interpretation and understanding of idiomatic expressions which relate to the head. These will be limited, for this thesis, to those instances in which the head is the object of a physical gesture, e.g. striking or raising. The head in particular was chosen since, due to its salient position on the body, it is a focus for gestures. These occur in various contexts, including legal, economic, historical and religious. Study of these gestures will thus elucidate a number of these important areas, while still being manageable within the scope of this study.

Akkadian and biblical Hebrew will be the languages under discussion. Due to the limited Hebrew corpus, all of the relevant gestures in the OT can be studied. Since the Akkadian literature is much more abundant, an exhaustive study of it cannot be undertaken here. The main emphasis will be on the Hebrew material, with the comparative study limited to those Akkadian passages found relevant in light of the Hebrew. There will also be included, however, discussion of relevant Akkadian gestures which do not have a Hebrew equivalent or have one in which another body part, possibly not part of the head, is involved. The aim of this research is to establish as far as possible for this limited set of gestures their meanings and their relationships within and between the two languages.

The study of such gestures has already been undertaken to some extent by anthropologists, who study them as they can actually be observed.<sup>1</sup> They can see that the gestures have meaning since

1. E.g. R. Firth, 'Verbal and Bodily Rituals of Greeting and Parting', The Interpretation of Ritual, ed. J.S. La Fontaine (1972), pp. 1-38 and I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Love and Hate: On the Natural History of Basic Behaviour Patterns (1971).

they alter the behaviour of those to whom they are directed,<sup>1</sup> and can study them in situ with the possible aid of the participants. Since the ritual gestures lead to a change in behaviour, they are a means of communication.<sup>2</sup> The gestures are then symbolic since they represent something which, when understood, brings about a situational change, but does not cause this change itself.<sup>3</sup> This is to differentiate the literal aspect of the gesture, such as the striking of the cheek resulting in tears, from its symbolic significance, i.e. why the cheek was struck and what is the new relationship which results between the parties involved.<sup>4</sup> While the literal aspect of the various gestures will be noted, the main concern of this thesis, where possible, will be with their symbolism.

As has been noted, the anthropologist generally restricts his study to observable gestures. These can be repeated and explained, if need be, by a native informant.<sup>5</sup> Apart from this 'exegetical' (so Turner) method of determining the meaning of a symbolic gesture, the anthropologist can study the changes brought about by the

1. R. Firth, loc.cit., p.2.

2. M. Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology (1970) p.41.

3. This is in keeping with The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary's definition of symbol as: "Something that stands, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation)", (p.2108, col.3).

4. Cf. IV B 1-2, pp.144-150.

5. See. R. Firth, Symbols: Public and Private (1973) p.27; V. Turner, 'Forms of Symbolic Action, Introduction', Forms of Symbolic Action, ed. R.F. Spencer (1969), p.9.

gesture and how the symbol is used,<sup>1</sup> since the meaning of one gesture is not determined in isolation but in its relationship with other gestures.<sup>2</sup> He must also study the whole cluster or field of related symbols.

Also, and of primary importance in this thesis, the gesture must be studied in its context, since the meaning is not arbitrarily assigned, but comes from the situation in which it occurs,<sup>3</sup> by those participating in the ritual, and also the other actions occurring in its field.<sup>4</sup> The context is important since not only can one gesture symbolise two or more different things (polysemy), it can also at times symbolise opposite things (antonymy).<sup>5</sup>

The gestures in this study, however, are not observable, except rarely by their representations in contemporary art, nor are they repeatable. It is necessary to approach them through the study of the texts, that is, linguistically, which has its own difficulties. The modern linguistic study of meaning (i.e. semantics) has only a relatively brief history.<sup>6</sup> In addition, determining the meaning of symbolic gestures falls into an even less developed area of study than that of general semantics, namely the study of idioms.

1. 'Operational dimension' of symbols - V. Turner, loc.cit., p.12; R. Firth, op.cit., p.85.

2. V. Turner, loc.cit.; M. Douglas, op. cit., p.11.

3. R. Firth, op.cit., p.173, referring to D. Lee, Freedom and Culture (1959) p.79.

4. R. Firth, op.cit., p.175.

5. M. Crichtley, Silent Language ( 1975 ), p.101.

6. See S. Ullman, Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning (1962), pp.5-8, for a brief synopsis of this history.

Even today there is no consensus of opinion as to the definition of 'idiom', even less as to the correct method of its analysis.<sup>1</sup>

Y. Bar-Hillel, in one of the earliest papers on the subject of the analysis of idioms, studied the problems offered by them to machine-translation of languages. He proposed a definition of 'idiom' which illustrates the problem. He said that an idiom is a phrase in which, even though each component word can be understood by the use of a dictionary, the phrase as a whole cannot be understood. The phrase means more than the sum of its components.<sup>2</sup> It is this definition which R. Hudson accepts in his review,<sup>3</sup> and which is used in this thesis.

U. Weinreich saw the problem caused by idioms to the Chomskian, transformational theory of grammar, since "under the rubric of idiomaticity we are concerned with complex structures that can be recognized and analysed but not naturally generated by any specific machinery so far proposed".<sup>4</sup> In 1969 he tried to analyse idioms to see if any 'machinery' could be put forward to generate their meanings. Weinreich finally came to the conclusion that "the relation between idiomatic and literal meanings is so unsystematic as to deserve no place in the semantic theory". One can know the relationship between the literal and the idiomatic only in retrospect, after having already established the meaning of the idiom.<sup>5</sup>

1. Cf. R. Hudson's review of A. Makkai, Idiom Structure in English (1972) in Journal of Linguistics 11 (1975), pp. 73-80, in which three different, current definitions are discussed.

2. Y. Bar-Hillel, 'Idioms', in Machine Translation of Language, ed. W.H. Locke and A.D. Booth (1955), p. 192.

3. Cf. n.1 above.

4. U. Weinreich, 'Problems in the Analysis of Idioms', in Substance and Structure of Language, ed. J. Puhvel (1969), p. 23.

5. Ibid., p. 76.

Symbolic gestures show graphically the problem as stated by Weinreich, since each symbolic gesture contains both the literal, observable gesture and the symbolic, unseen meaning of the gesture. The meaning of the gesture is idiomatic as defined by Bar-Hillel (p.4 above) since neither the component parts of the actual gesture nor the component words used for the gesture in the texts can yield the meaning of the gesture as a whole, even if each of these components is completely understood, either anthropologically or lexically. Compounding the problem still further, an idiom, like other words and phrases, does not have only one specific meaning. The examples below will show that one idiomatic gesture can have several different, and possibly unrelated, meanings.

Weinreich's conclusion is of importance to this thesis in that one of the main aims of the research is to establish the meanings of idioms which have previously been misunderstood or not understood at all. Since there is no formula which delivers the meaning of an idiom, another method must be used. This will be the detailed analysis of each phrase in its context in order to establish the meaning each time it is used, thus returning to the method of analysis used by the anthropologist.

This study of context to find the operational meaning of the idiom involves several aspects. The first is determining the wider, linguistic environment in which the idiom occurs. In its widest sense, this includes the edition or recension of the text used. For the OT, this will be that part of the eclectic Masoretic text now available in BHS,<sup>1</sup> or, where the former is not yet in print,

1. I.e. Genesis - Judges, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Minor Prophets, and Psalms.



that of BH<sup>3</sup>. For the Akkadian examples, the latest recension of each text will be used.

It is also imperative to determine the more immediate, literary context of the idiom. This involves the literary form of the passage in which it occurs (i.e. whether the passage is legal, historical, religious or the like) as well as the style. The date of the text must also be established, where possible, since the meaning of a word or phrase does not necessarily remain static through time.<sup>1</sup> Also, the non-verbal context must be noted, especially in this study of gestures. This includes the historical situation in which the action occurred, if that is possible to determine, as well as those who are involved, whether the god, the king, or some other person, male or female.

Since the immediate linguistic environment of a term directly affects its meaning, this must also be noted, e.g. if there are prepositions, suffixes, constructs, etc. involved. Also the semantic field of each idiom must be examined. This involves words which are related in some way to the idiom as indicated by contextual similarities and parallels. Since meaning arises from relationships within the context and the semantic field, different semantic fields and contexts mean different words, or at least different meanings of one word,

1. The dates given for the OT texts are those of current critical, scholarly, opinion, as reflected by O. Kaiser, Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems (1969, transl. 1975), unless otherwise noted. These dates are generally the latest dates possible for the texts, most of which are considered to have been redated from earlier sources. The dates given for the Psalms, however, are my own unless indicated. The Akkadian texts are dated according to the date or period of the copy, which is also often much later than the original.

i.e. polysemy.<sup>1</sup> It must be noted how the semantic field is divided among the constituent idioms in order to determine why one idiom from the field is used instead of another in a particular context.<sup>2</sup>

A start was made in this area of idioms relating to the head in Hebrew and Akkadian by Edouard Dhorme in his L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien (1923). In this work, Dhorme included a brief discussion of some of the symbolic gestures with which this thesis will be dealing under his area of 'metaphor' which he calls "l'humanisation de la nature" in which "les noms des diverses parties qui composent le corps humain soient transférés ... aux objets inanimés".<sup>3</sup>

In JAOS 61 (1941), 257-271, A.L. Oppenheim published an article entitled "Idiomatic Accadian (Lexicographical Researches)" in which he collected and discussed idioms containing names of parts of the body from neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian sources, mainly letters. A number of these idioms are in fact symbolic gestures and thus are relevant for this study.

In addition to these two works of wider scope, there have been a few studies of single gestures or of a restricted group of gestures.<sup>4</sup> Translators of texts also often comment on

1. Cf. A. Lehrer, Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure (1974), p.10.
2. For an example of this methodology applied to a limited group of Hebrew words, cf. J.F.A. Sawyer, Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation (1972).
3. 'The humanising of nature' in which 'the names of the different parts which form the human body are transferred to ... inanimate objects', L'emploi, p.2.
4. E.g. E.M. Cassin, RA 34 (1937), pp.145-16 in which pūtam mabāšum is discussed, and A. Draffkorn Kilmer, JAOS 94 (1974), pp.177-183 in which ina appi šadādu and related symbolic gestures are discussed.

symbolic gestures in conjunction with their translation.

In addition, the dictionaries at times present their interpretation of the meaning of a gesture, usually listing this meaning under the discussion of the component verb rather than that of the body part involved in the gesture. Such references will be given within the discussion of a specific action. Many articles present the translations of idioms as conclusions without a discussion of how these translations are arrived at. This thesis will present the evidence and arguments for the conclusions made.

In order to determine the meaning of the idioms, each is studied synchronically, or at least a note is made of the period in which it is used. First the literal meaning and use of the body part involved and of the action performed upon it is established. Then follows a study of the idiomatic gestures in each of the various contexts in which it occurs in each language, Hebrew first, then followed by Akkadian, as has been explained above. On the basis of this study, in addition to a critical analysis of the previous interpretations of the idiom, a meaning is proposed or adopted. After all the idioms are studied, a comparison is made of the various different idioms occurring in similar contexts, both within the same language and, comparatively, in different languages. In order to provide a wider basis for comparison, the study is not restricted simply to the head itself, but also to some of its parts. These include the face, the forehead, the cheeks, and the hair. This comparative study of contextual similarities avoids the dangers inherent in a comparison based solely upon etymological or cognate grounds, even though these will be

noted since they at times provide useful insights. This study also allows comparison between idioms occurring in similar contexts but involving different parts of the body or different gestures. This in turn leads to a discussion of why specific parts or gestures were used in some contexts.

There is also included a diachronic study of the various idioms, if they have continued in use through an extended period of time. This notes whether the idiom has retained, lost, or changed its meaning through time as well as if whether the meaning may have transferred from one idiom to another.

Finally, a study is undertaken of the semantic fields and how they are divided between the various idioms. This division is compared between Hebrew and Akkadian. In addition, the semantic range of the individual gestures is noted to indicate the different contexts in which the gesture occurs and the different meanings it might have. This is also done comparatively.

The nature of this thesis has limited the range of gestures which can be studied. These will be restricted to those expressed in the form of a verb and a direct object, possibly accompanied by a preposition. This allows inclusion of such phrases as קָפָה רֹאשׁ and gaqqada(m) katāmu(m), 'to cover the head', but rules out such extended clauses as הָעֵלָה עֶפְרָיִם עַל הָרֹאשׁ, 'to put dust on the head'. Also excluded from study are single verbs which implicitly include a part of the body in their meaning, e.g. paṣānu, 'to veil (the face, head)'. There are also several phrases which have already been widely discussed and which will not be covered here, e.g. phrases relating to the abbuttum.

A The Hebrew ראש and the Akkadian rēšu(m)(SAG) both signify the physical head.<sup>1</sup> The uses of both have extended to include the uppermost part of a physical object,<sup>2</sup> and of a quality (i.e., 'best').<sup>3</sup> Both also denote the 'front'<sup>4</sup> or 'beginning',<sup>5</sup> and are used of the 'person'<sup>6</sup>; an example of synecdoche.

קרקר and the Akkadian qaqqadu(m)(SAG.DU)<sup>7</sup> also signify the head<sup>8</sup> as well as the more explicit 'top of the head'.<sup>9</sup> qaqqadu(m) has the additional meanings of the 'upper part' and 'beginning', as well as 'capital'.<sup>10</sup> קרקר does not have these.

מו occurs only once, signifying 'bone marrow',<sup>11</sup> and there-

1. This is accepted by the lexicons and is supported by the same meanings of cognate words in other Semitic languages. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p.10 and L'emploi, p.19-20.
2. E.g. a mountain (Gen.8:53; AOAT 8, p.359:30). Cf. for other examples BDB p.910 (sub ראש 1,2) and AHw., p.974 (sub rēšu(m) 8).
3. Cf. BDB p.911 (sub ראש I 3, 5) and AHw.,(loc.cit., E).
4. Cf. BDB,(loc.cit., 4a)and AHw.,(loc.cit., C).
5. Cf. BDB,(loc.cit., 4b, c)and AHw.,(loc.cit., D).
6. E.g. K.4226:11 in CT XXX, pl.44. Cf. also 1.3 (pp. 18, 21 ).
7. Cf. ZA 42 (1939) p.149:146 which refers to a single variant qad-qa-di.
8. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p.11; L'emploi, p.20.
9. Cf. II Sam.14:25: מִן חֶמְדָּתוֹ וְעַד קְדָקְדָתוֹ וְגו'...., 'from the bottom of his foot to the top of his head'. Cf. L'emploi, p.20, n.4 & 5, p.21.
10. Cf. AHw., p.900 (sub qaqqadu(m) 6,8, and 9 respectively).
11. מִן עֲצָמֵי תִירוֹ יִשְׁקָה :..., 'the marrow of his bones is moist' (Job 21:24). In post-biblical Hebrew, מו is used specifically of the brain.

fore is not relevant to this study. The cognate muhbu(m) (SAG;UGU) is used of the skull.<sup>1</sup> E. Dhorme stated that this is an example of the contents (the brain) giving its name to the container (the skull).<sup>2</sup> muhbu(m) extended in usage to be a preposition meaning 'on, concerning'.<sup>3</sup>

גולגולת and the Akkadian gulgullu(m) also mean the skull.<sup>4</sup> gulgullu(m) is only used as the skull per se (or a container of the same shape),<sup>5</sup> while גולגולת is also used to signify the whole person<sup>6</sup>; another example of synecdoche. Neither noun will be discussed here.

B 'to raise, carry, bring'

In both Hebrew and Akkadian there are several verbs occupying a similar semantic range to 'to raise'. The cognates נָשָׂא and našû(m) are used to signify the physical lifting of objects.<sup>7</sup> They also mean 'to carry',<sup>8</sup> which is within the same semantic range.

1. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p.12.

2. So L'emploi, p.20.

3. Cf. AHW., p.668 (sub muhbu(m) B); GAG { 115h.

4. Holma Körperteile, p.11; L'emploi, p.19-20.

5. Cf. CAD G, pp.127-128 (sub gulgullu).

6. E.g. Ex.16:15; Num.1:2.

7. Cf. BDB, p.670 (sub נָשָׂא 1a) and AHW., p.762 (sub našû(m) II G 1-7).

8. Cf. BDB, p.671 (loc.cit. 2a, e, f) and AHW., p.763 (sub našû(m) II G II).

Both have the head or its parts as their object.

The verb רָם in the Qal-stem is a stative verb and means 'to be high, exalted'.<sup>1</sup> When used in the Hiphil-stem, the verb is transitive and is used literally for physical raising,<sup>2</sup> as well as metaphorically for exalting.

šaqû(m) also has this intransitive meaning of 'to be high'.<sup>3</sup> with the transitive meaning 'to raise' in the D-stem.<sup>4</sup> The head and its parts occur with forms of the verb in both stems.

עָלָה and the Akkadian elû(m) are used intransitively for 'to go up'.<sup>5</sup> Both are transitive when used in other verbal stems, in Hebrew the Hiphil-stem and in Akkadian the D- and Š-stems.<sup>6</sup> The Hebrew verb is not found with the head or its parts in the OT. ullû(m), however, is so used, and so is relevant here.

Several other Akkadian verbs share this semantic range.

dekû(m) has a wide usage including removal,<sup>7</sup> mobilizing of troops and workers,<sup>8</sup> as well as lifting or raising.<sup>9</sup> It is

1. BDB, pp.926-927 (sub רָם Qal).

2. Ibid.(loc.cit., Hiph.)

3. Delitzsch HWB, p.684 (sub שָׁקָה I).

4. Ibid. (loc.cit., II).

5. Cf. BDB, pp.748-749 (sub עָלָה Qal); CAD E, pp.114-125 (sub elû 1-3); AHW., pp.206-208 (sub elû(m) IV G B).

6. Cf. BDB, pp.749-750(loc.cit., Hiph.); CAD E, pp.125-126, 128-133(loc.cit., 5, 8-10); AHW., pp.208-210(loc.cit., D, Š, passim).

7. CAD D, pp.124-125 (sub dekû 1).

8. Ibid., pp.125-128(loc.cit., 2d, e; 3).

9. Ibid., pp.126-127(loc.cit., 2f).

with the last meaning that the head and its parts occur as the object. Similarly matāḥu(m) has the same meaning of lifting or raising,<sup>1</sup> and also includes transport and delivery in its field.<sup>2</sup> (u)abālu(m) and its variant babālu(m) share the semantic range of these verbs in their use for 'carrying' or 'bringing' objects.<sup>3</sup> It is not used of the head itself but is used with the face as its direct object.

1                      נָשָׂא, 'to raise (the head)'

נָשָׂא occurs in several different OT contexts, including death,<sup>4</sup> imprisonment,<sup>5</sup> and the conducting of an inventory.<sup>6</sup> It also occurs in the negative in the context of defeat or oppression<sup>7</sup> and in the positive when an enemy of Yahweh plots against him.<sup>8</sup> Once it is used metaphorically of city gates upon the arrival of the king.<sup>9</sup>

1. AHW., p.632 (sub matāḥu(m) G). Cf. also Or NS9(1940), pp. 220-221 in which A.L. Oppenheim notes the partial synonymy of matāḥu, našû and dekû in this portion of their semantic field.

2. Ibid., (loc.cit., 1,2).

3. Cf. CAD AI, pp.10ff (sub abālu A).

4. Gen.40:19-20 (E); I Chr.10:9 (fourth-third cent. B.C.).

5. Gen.40:13,20 (E); 11 Kings 25:27 (D), par. Jer.52:31 (D).

6. Ex.30:12; Num.1:2,49; 4:2,22; 26:2; 31:26,49 (all P).

7. Judg.8:28 (D); Job 10:15 (fifth-third cent. B.C.); Zech.2:4 (sixth cent. B.C.).

8. Ps.83:3 (pre-exilic).

9. Ps.24:7, par.9 (Solomonic).



1.1           נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ occurs in the context of Saul's death in I Chr.10:9, in which the Philistines, coming to strip the bodies of the fallen following the battle with Israel, found Saul's body:

וַיִּפְשְׁטוּהוּ וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ וְאֶת-כְּלָיו ...

(10) וַיִּשְׂמוּ אֶת-כְּלָיו בַּיַּת אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְאֶת-גְּלִגְלָתוֹ תָקְעוּ בַּיַּת דָּגוֹן:

'They stripped him and raised his head and his equipment ....

They placed his equipment in their gods' temple and impaled his skull in Dagon's temple.' Here נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ is literally 'raise the head', which is used for 'to decapitate',<sup>1</sup> and is not idiomatic.<sup>2</sup>

1.2           נָשָׂא occurs in several verses as a reflexive action.<sup>3</sup> Those involving people share the context of either seeking to inflict,<sup>4</sup> or being in a state of,<sup>5</sup> subjection or

1. In the parallel account in I Sam.31:9 (D), the phrase וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ is replaced by וַיִּכְרְתוּ אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ, 'and they cut off his head', which shows that by the time of the Chronicler the two phrases were synonymous. I Sam.31:10 records that Saul's equipment was placed in Asherah's temple, but that his corpse ( גִּוְיָתוֹ ) was impaled on the wall of Beth-shean, which is probably where Dagon's temple was (I Chr.10:10); cf. RLA II, p.100 (sub Dagon). Upon a similar victory, David also beheaded his enemy, Goliath (I Sam.17:54-D).

2. This interpretation has been accepted by commentators: e.g. H.W. Hertzberg, I + II Samuel (1965, rep.1974), p.233.

3. Judg.8:28; Zech.2:4; Pss.24:7 par.9 (of gates); 83:3; Job 10:15. Cf. 1.3, 1.4, which concern action being done by one person to another.

4. Ps.83 speaks of Yahweh's enemies and those who hate him who: (4) עַל-עַמֶּךָ יַעֲרִימוּ סוֹד וַיִּתְנַעֲצוּ עַל-צִמּוֹנֶיךָ, 'against your people they craftily plot, and conspire against your treasured ones'.

5. Judg.8:28 speaks of the Midianites: וַיִּשְׁתָּלְמוּ לְפָנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'And Midian was humbled before the Israelites ....' Zech.2:4, speaking of the four 'horns', a metaphor for Israel's enemies: אֲשֶׁר-יִזְרֹוּ אֶת-הַהֹרֶה וְגו', 'which will scatter Judah ....' In Job 10:15 the speaker is: שָׂנֵא קָלוֹן וְרָאָה עָוִי: '... sated with ignominy and seeing my oppression'.

oppression. When speaking to Yahweh, the Psalmist says: כִּי-

: הִנֵּה אוֹיְבֶיךָ יִהְיֶינָה וּמִשְׁנָאֶךָ נִשְׂאוּ רֹאשׁ :  
boisterous and those who hate you raise their head' (Ps.83:3).  
In contrast, those who are oppressed or subjugated cannot  
'raise the head'.<sup>1</sup>

E. Dhorme interpreted נִשְׂאָה רֹאשׁ as showing one who is  
"exultant and proud".<sup>2</sup> Those who could not 'raise the head'  
were interpreted as being downcast or broken in spirit.<sup>3</sup> In  
that case, this action is literal but symbolises self-  
satisfaction and so has a greater meaning than if it were  
simply literal.<sup>4</sup>

1. In Judg.8:28, the humbled Midianites רָגְלוּ לְשֹׂאֵת רֹאשָׁם וְלֹא יָסְפוּ לְרַשֵּׁת רֹאשָׁם ... 'did not continue to raise their heads ...'. Job says that if he sins, Yahweh will not forgive him (v.14) and woe to him if he does sin (v.15): וְצִדְקָתִי לֹא-אֶשָּׂא רֹאשִׁי רָגוּ ... 'if I do right I do not raise my head ...', because of his ignominy (Job 10). In Zech.2:4, the four horns will scatter Judah: כָּפִי-אֵישׁ לֹא-נִשְׂאָה רֹאשׁוֹ רָגוּ ... , 'such that a man will not raise his head ...'.
2. A Commentary on the Book of Job (1926, transl.1967), p.152. Cf. E.C.S. Gibson, The Book of Job (1905), p.53, who interprets it as showing "the glad confidence of rectitude".
3. E.g. G.F. Moore, Judges (1908), p.233; Gibson, Job, p.53; H. Leupold, Exposition of Zechariah (1956), p.49.
4. In Ps.24:7, par.9, נִשְׂאָה רֹאשׁ is extended to inanimate objects when gates are commanded: שְׁעָרִים רֹאשֵׁיכֶם וְהַנִּשְׂאָה פֶתָחִי : עֲלֵם וְיִבֵּא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד : 'Raise your heads, you gates, and be raised, you everlasting doorways. The King of Glory is coming.' This has been interpreted by W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms (1939, rep.1959), p.187 and A. Weiser, The Psalms (1962), p.235, as an order for the gates to open for the approaching procession. It could also refer simply to the very high city gates which were found in the ancient Near East, e.g. the Balawat gates.

1.3 Another context in which **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** occurs is that of imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> In these accounts the prisoner had previously been a person of importance, either a 'chief-steward', **שֵׂר הַמַּשְׂקִים** (Gen.40:20), or a former king of Judah (II Kings 25:27, par. Jer.52:31). In each case, the ruler of the country 'raised the head' of the prisoner.<sup>2</sup> The prisoners were then either returned to their former positions,<sup>3</sup> or given honour.<sup>4</sup> Jer.52:31 adds: **וַיֵּצֵא אוֹתוֹ מִמְּבִית הַקְּלָיָא** ..., 'He caused him to go out of prison'.<sup>5</sup> Release from prison is implicit in the Genesis passage if the steward were to perform his duties.

1. Gen.40:13,20; II Kings 25:27 par. Jer.52:31. In each of these passages, and those in the following sections of this thesis, the noun is preceded by the object-marker **אֶת**.
2. In the first instance: **וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי יוֹם הִלָּדוֹת אֶת-פַּרְעֹה וַיַּעַל מִסְתָּה לְכָל-עַבְדָּיו וַיֵּשָׂא אֶת-רֹאשׁ שֵׂר הַמַּשְׂקִים וְגו'**, 'On the third day was the pharaoh's birthday and he held a feast for all of his servants. He raised the head of the chief steward' (Gen.40:20). In Gen.40:13, Joseph had told the steward that this was what would happen: **וַיֵּשָׂא פַרְעֹה אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ** ..., 'Pharaoh will raise your head'. In the second: **וַיֵּשָׂא מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל אֶת-רֹאשׁ יְהוֹיָכִין מֶלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה וְגו'**, 'Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, raised the head of Jehoiachin, king of Judah' (II Kings 25:27). This is exactly parallel to Jer.52:31.
3. **וַיָּשֹׁב אֶת-שֵׂר הַמַּשְׂקִים עַל-מַשְׁקָהוּ וְגו'**, 'And he returned the chief-steward to his stewardship ...' (Gen.40:21).
4. **וַיְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ טוֹבוֹת וַיִּתֵּן אֶת-קִסְאוֹ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ בְּבָבֶל**: 'He spoke kindly with him and set his seat above the seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon' (II Kings 25:28). Jer.52:32 var.: **וַיַּעַל מִמְּבִית הַקְּלָיָא**....
5. II Kings 25:27 only says that Jehoiachin's head was raised 'from prison': **מִמְּבִית קְלָיָא**. From the parallel passage, it would appear that this is an elision of the verb **הוֹצִיא**.

These similarities in the context of these two accounts indicate that **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** means the same in both.<sup>1</sup>

**נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** in this context has been interpreted in several ways. D.B. Redford translated the phrase in Gen. 40:13 as a metaphor meaning "to restore one's fortunes".<sup>2</sup> This is an inadequate interpretation in the light of the Jehoiachin account since he was not 'restored', which implies a return to a previous state, but was given new honour. The explicit statement of the restoration of the steward to his post which immediately follows the 'raising of his head' in Gen. 40:13, 21 would be redundant, or else epexegetical, if this interpretation was adopted. **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** has also been interpreted as 'to release from prison',<sup>3</sup> which also leaves the possibility of redundancy caused by the explicit reference to Jehoiachin's release in Jer. 52:31.<sup>4</sup> This could also be an epexegetis used for stylistic reasons.<sup>5</sup> The possible redundancy is alleviated by E.A. Speiser's translation of **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** as 'to pardon'.<sup>6</sup> A. Phillips rejected

1. Cf. p.5 for a discussion of this concept of meaning being related to context.

2. A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (1970), p.54. Cf. C.F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, The Pentateuch I (ND, rep.1971), p.347 who similarly interpreted it as 'to restore to one's post'.

3. E.g. C.F. Keil, The Book of Kings (ND, rep.1971), p. 521; J. Skinner, Genesis (1910), p.462.

4. Cf. II Kings 25:27 **מִן־הַמָּוֶת**.

5. A possibility suggested by A.R. Millard in private correspondence.

6. Genesis (1964), p.308. He views this as a development from the literal "lifting the head of a depressed person" to "comforting and pardoning". The possible development of the phrase to 'comfort' is straightforward, but the further step to 'pardon' is not so clear. Cf. also J. Khanjian, in An Or 50 (1975), p.392 (sub 31.d).

this interpretation on the grounds that the baker, of whom the phrase is also used, was not pardoned,<sup>1</sup> but Speiser postulated a three-way word play based on נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ with different meanings for the action here and in the case of the baker.<sup>2</sup>

J.A. Montgomery appears to interpret נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ metaphorically when he translates II Kings 25:28 as "Evil-Merodach ... lifted up the head (i.e. the person) of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison."<sup>3</sup> (emphasis his). This would be an example of synecdoche in which the head stood for the person or individual.<sup>4</sup> The metaphorical extension involves the verb being extended in use from 'physically raising an object' to 'figuratively raising one from a lower state to a higher'. The phrase נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ could then be understood literally, with each part of it, when analysed, contributing to the meaning, rather than as an idiom, which is not analysable from its components. This interpretation is suitable in both of these accounts, but another interpretation will be shown below to be better (p.27 ).

1. Ancient Israel's Criminal Law (1970), p.27.

2. Genesis, p.308, "Pharoah will review (cf. p.19, n.1 and 1.4, p.27) the cases of his two disgraced appointees, pardon the Cup-bearer, but behead (cf. 1.1, p.14 and pp. 20-21) the Baker."

3. Kings (1951, rep.1967), p.566.

4. Cf. L'emploi, p.21 where this usage of the noun is given. This parallels the English use of the word in such cases as 'three head of sheep'.

נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ occurs twice more in the same Gen.40 account, this time concerning the chief baker, whom Joseph told: בְּעוֹרֶךָ

שְׁלֶשֶׁת יָמִים יִשָּׂא פָרְעָה אֶת-רֹאשְׁךָ מֵעַלְיֶךָ וְתָלָה אוֹתְךָ עַל-עֵץ וְגו'

'In another three days the pharaoh will raise your head from you, and will hang you on a tree ...' (Gen.40:19). This the

pharaoh did.<sup>1</sup> This use of נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ is distinct from the previous uses both in form, since it occurs with the preposition מֵעַל, and in result, since it leads to death, not release from prison. The preposition, which does not occur with נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ anywhere else in the UT, literally involves separation.<sup>2</sup> In this case, the separation is that of the head from the body. This literal interpretation of

נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ מֵעַל is followed in the LXX.<sup>3</sup> G.R. Driver opposed this interpretation on the grounds that "a headless man cannot be hanged".<sup>4</sup> He called for the deletion of the preposition, as J. Skinner had done previously,<sup>5</sup> calling it either a gloss or an anticipation of the same preposition at the end of the verse. R. de Vaux, however, cited UT instances

1. ... וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת-רֹאשׁ שֵׁר הַמַּשְׂקִים וְאֶת-רֹאשׁ שֵׁר הָאֲפִים בְּתוֹךְ עַבְדָּיו: (20) ... and he raised the head of the chief steward and the head of the chief baker among his servants.' Cf. E.A. Speiser's translation on p.18, n.2.

2. This is shown by the use of מֵעַל later in the same verse: ... וְאָכַל הָעוֹף אֶת-בְּשָׂרְךָ מֵעַלְיֶךָ: '... and birds will eat your flesh from upon you.'

3. ἀφελεῖ παρὰ σου κεφαλὴν σου, 'Pharaoh will cut off/take away your head from you.'

4. JTS 23 (1972), p.161 in his review of A. Phillips' book Ancient Israel's Criminal Law.

5. J. Skinner, Genesis (1910), p.462.

in which the body was hanged after the execution (e.g. II Sam.4:12). This was done, or the body impaled, as a mark of infamy, or to set an example.<sup>1</sup>

A.R. Millard suggested that **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ מַעַל** might be interpreted as 'to single out' in this context.<sup>2</sup> Each of the people involved in these passages was in some way singled out, for good (the steward and Jehoiachin) or for bad (the baker).<sup>3</sup> If this is accepted, the whole phrase, including the preposition, must be an idiom. Otherwise, **מַעַל** would not be understandable in the context and would have to be deleted. This deletion would result in all of the uses of **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** in Gen.40 and in the Jehoiachin passages having the same form, and possibly the same meaning. The deletion of the preposition does not maintain the integrity of the biblical text which, unless there is no other alternative, should be accepted.

Textual integrity can be maintained by interpreting the Gen.40 passage as a somewhat macabre play on words using two different meanings of **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ**; one, without **מַעַל**, indicating a favourable future for the one to whom it was addressed and the other, with the preposition, indicating just the opposite, i.e. death, have been suggested.<sup>4</sup> If this

1. Ancient Israel (1961, rep.1962), p.159.

2. In private correspondence.

3. In each account, a specific event occurred which would have led to this singling out. In the case of pharaoh, it was his birthday (Gen.40:20) and in the case of Evil-Merodach, he had just ascended the throne ( **...: בָּשָׂת מַלְכוּ וְגו'** II Kings 25:27, par. Jer.52:31: **...: בָּשָׂת מַלְכוּ וְגו'** ).

4. E.g. G. von Rad, Genesis (1963), p.369; D.B. Redford, Joseph, p.54; E.A. Speiser, Genesis, p.308; J. Khanjian, AnUr 50, p.392.

word play exists, **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** used in Gen.40:19 could be literal, meaning decapitation, and in vv.13 and 20 as well as the Jehoiachin accounts could be idiomatic, meaning something like 'to pardon', 'to release', or 'to single out', which has a neutral connotation, not meaning of itself for good or ill. These could not be understood literally as an example of synecdoche in which **רֹאשׁ** stood for the person, who was raised to a higher place, since the baker in v.20 was not elevated like this even though his 'head was raised'.

1.4 **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** occurs eight times in four passages concerning inventories of people<sup>1</sup> or spoil.<sup>2</sup> Exod.30:11-16 contains laws concerning inventories and Num.1-4, 26 and 31 deal with actual inventories.<sup>3</sup> The law states: **כִּי תִשָּׂא אֶת-רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל לִפְקֻדֵיהֶם וְנָתַנּוּ אִישׁ כְּפָר בְּפָשֻׁל לַיהוָה בְּפָקֶד אֹתָם וְלֹא-יָקִיזָה בָהֶם נֶגֶף בְּפָקֶד אֹתָם**, 'If you raise the head of the Israelites to register them, then let each give a ransom for his life to Yahweh when you register them, so that there will be no plague among them when they are registered' (Exod.30:12). As shown by the grammatical construction of the protasis of this law, **פָּקֶד** is subsequent to **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** and the two actions are in some way related as part of a process.

1. Exod.30:12; Num.1:2, 49; 4:2, 22; 26:2; 31:49.

2. Num.31:26; this includes prisoners and captured animals.

3. All are attributed to P.



נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ occurs in the context of פָּקַד in four other passages. In Num.1 Moses and Aaron are commanded: 'Raise the head of all of the Israelite congregation ...' (v.2). All men over 20 who are able to serve: '... תִּפְקְדוּ אֹתָם לְצִבְיָתָם וְגִבּוֹרֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁרְתוּהָ' (v.3),<sup>1</sup> but concerning the Levites: (49) 'אַךְ אֶת-מִשְׁחֵה לִוִּי לֹא תִפְקְדוּ וְאֶת-רֹאשֵׁם לֹא תִשָּׂא בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל: (50) וְאֶתֶּה הַפָּקֶד אֶת-הַלְוִיִּם עַל-מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדֻת... וְהֵם יִשְׁרְתוּהָ וְגִבּוֹרֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁרְתוּהָ' (v.49). '... your servants raised the head of the warriors which we command and not one man of them was found missing' (v.49).

פָּקַד, which is so closely related syntactically to נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ in these passages, has itself a range of meanings which are determined by context. Even in these few passages this includes 'register' (Exod.30:12) in the Qal-stem, 'appoint to various tasks' (Num.1:3,50) in the Hiphil-stem, and 'find missing' (Num.31:49) in the Niphal-stem. All of these meanings are semantically related by being different steps in a single process.<sup>2</sup> All, however,

1. Cf. Num.4:22-23 in which the Gershonites are to 'have their head raised' ( נָשָׂא אֶת-רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי גֵרְשׁוֹן ) and those over 30, and under 50: '... תִּפְקְדוּ אוֹתָם כָּל-הַבָּא וְגִבּוֹרֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁרְתוּהָ' 'appoint them, all who come ....'
2. But cf. E.A. Speiser in BASOR 149 (Feb., 1958), pp.20-21, who subsumes all of these meanings into one, "to attend to with care".

concern the individual. Even when all of Israel are involved (Exod.30:12; Num.1:2), the individuality is stressed, e.g. each person must give half a shekel (Exod.30:13), each male is numbered 'head by head' (Num.1:2), or each is given a specific task (Num.1:50).

E.A. Speiser interpreted **פָּקַד** and **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** as being parallel, synonymous, terms.<sup>1</sup> There are several points supporting this interpretation. Two synonyms are often used in parallel as a literary device, and this synonymous parallelism could be what is found in Num.1:49. This could, however, be an example of another literary device in which emphasis is given by a later or more important action being denied or forbidden, followed by the denial or forbidding of the earlier or less important action.<sup>2</sup>

E.A. Speiser also compared Num.1:2 (p.22) with Num.3:15, which reads: **פָּקַד אֶת-בְּנֵי לֵוִי לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם כָּל-זָכָר מִבֶּן-חֹדֶשׁ וָמַעְלָה מִפְּקָדָם :** 'Register the Levites according to their fathers' house, according to their families, every male from one month old upwards, register them.'<sup>3</sup> In this verse, **פָּקַד** is used in the same syntactical position as **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** in Num.1:2, which appears to be what led Speiser to see them as synonymous. There is a difference in non-verbal context between the two passages, however. In Num.1, the tribes

1. Ibid. Cf. also J.A. Sanders, 'Census', IDB (1962), p.547, who interpreted **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** as a periphrasis of **פָּקַד**.
2. Cf. another example in Gen.3:3 (J), where Eve said she was not to eat the fruit, or even to touch it.
3. BASOR 149, p.20. This verse appears to directly contradict the command in 1:49 that the Levites were not to be numbered or 'raised of head' (cf. p.22). This is, however, a different context since the Levites have already been separated from the people for a specific task after the other tribes had been registered.

are travelling through the desert as a homogenous group, while by Num.3 the Israelites have been separated into their component tribes. Also, the Levites in Num.3 had been physically set apart from the rest of Israel, while in the first chapter the tribes were all travelling together, as already pointed out.<sup>1</sup>

In Num.4:29 the third line of Aaron's descendents ( **בְּנֵי מִרְיָ** ) are to be appointed to specific tasks, but instead of saying to 'raise their head' (cf. vv.1,22),

**תִּפְקֹד אֹתָם** is used.<sup>2</sup> The syntax is different here from the other two verses, with **פִּקֹּד** coming at the end rather than at the beginning of the verse, as **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** had done. This could be only an ellipsis of **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** which was not considered necessary since it had already been mentioned earlier in the same context.

A counter-argument to the synonymy of **פִּקֹּד** and **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** was already mentioned in the discussion concerning Exod.30:12.<sup>3</sup> In that verse, **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** and **פִּקֹּד** are two steps in a process rather than two synonymous ways of expressing the same action. Since they are two different, though related, actions, it is probable that they have the same relationship in the other passages sharing the same context. B.S. Childs marked

1. **הִקְרַב אֶת-מִשְׁחֵה לְרִי וְהִעֲמַדְתָּ אוֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי אַהֲרֹן הַכֹּהֵן וְשָׁרְתוּ אוֹתוֹ:**  
'Bring the Levite tribe near and cause them to stand before Aaron, the priest. They will serve him.' (Num.3:6). Cf. p.23, n.3 above.

2. **בְּנֵי מִרְיָ לְמִשְׁפָּחָתָם לְבֵית-אֲבֹתָם תִּפְקֹד אֹתָם:** (Num.4:29).

3. Cf. p21.

this difference in Exod.30:12 by translating each differently: "When you take a census of the Israelites for the purpose of registration ...".<sup>1</sup> He blurred this distinction, however, in v.14 when he translated **כָּל הַמִּסְתָּמֵר עַל-הַמִּסְתָּמֵר** by "Everyone who is numbered in the census",<sup>2</sup> giving to **מִסְתָּמֵר** the meaning of 'census' which he had previously given to **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ**.

There are, in addition, two similar passages in which **מִסְתָּמֵר** does not accompany **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ**. In Num.4:2, the Kehathites are to have their 'heads raised' ( **נָשָׂא אֶת-רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי קֹהַת** ) in the same way as the Gershonites (v.22) but the further command: **תִּמְסְקוּ אֹתָם וְגִרְ**, 'appoint them ...' (v.23) is missing ( **וְגִרְ - בֶּן-חֲמֻשִּׁים שָׁנָה כָּל-בֶּן וְגִרְ** ) (v.3), even though these people too are given tasks to perform (cf. 4:22). The other passage concerns booty: **שָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ מִלְּקֹחַי הַחַי וּבְהֵמָה וְגִרְ** 'Raise the head of the prize-booty, man and beast ...' (Num. 31:26). Here the phrase **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** is applied to animals as well as man. In this case, there is no task assignment or registration ( **מִסְתָּמֵר** ), but the booty is divided and distributed.

As the gathering of the people was part of the context used to determine the relationship between Num.1:2, which used **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ**, and Num.3:15, which used **מִסְתָּמֵר** (cf. 23-24 ), it is also evident within the Num.1 passage itself.

1. Exodus (1974), p.521. Cf. others who also interpreted **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁ** as the actual census or counting: e.g. G.B. Gray, Numbers (1903), p.5, "calculate the total"; M. Noth, Das zweite Buch Mosse (1959), p.193, "Kopfzahl" 'headcount'; M. Noth, Numbers (1968), pp.13,15, "take a census"; J. de Vaulx, Les Nombres (1972), p.61, "relever" 'to note'.
2. Exodus, p.521.

When Mosès was commanded by Yahweh to 'raise the head' of the Israelites and register or appoint them (cf. p.22 ), he chose men to assist him (vv.4-16), and: **ראת כל-העדה הקהילר** **...ויתילדו על-משפחתם לבית אבתם וגו'**

'They gathered together all of the congregation ... they had themselves registered by genealogy, by their families according to their fathers' house ...' (Num.1:18).<sup>1</sup> Here 'registration' ( **פקד** ) was explained by the more specific 'to be entered into the family roll' ( **ויתילד** ) while 'raising of the head' was replaced by 'gather together' ( **הקהיל** ).<sup>2</sup>

Another passage relating to yet another registration of people aids in interpreting the relevance of 'gathering together' to the understanding of **נשא את ראש**. In II Sam.24 (D) David, whom Yahweh had moved to count the people,<sup>3</sup> told Joab: **שוט-נא בכל-שנטי ישראל מִדֶּן וְעַד-בְּאֵר־שֶׁבַע וּפְקְדוּ אֶת-הָעָם**...

**...וידעתי את מספר העם:** 'Go out among all of the Israelite tribes, from Dan to Beer-sheba, and register the people so that I will know the number of the people' (II Sam.24:2). Here again the verb **פקד** is used in the census process and it is again the second step in a process (cf. Exod.30:12, p. 21). In this verse, however, the first step of the process was to go out among the people ( **שוט** ), while in Exod.30:12 the

1. That this registration is what v.2 meant is stated in v.19: **כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת-מֹשֶׁה וַיִּפְקְדֵם בְּמִדְבַּר סִינַי:** 'As Yahweh had commanded Moses, so he registered them in the Sinai wilderness'.
2. This gathering was possible at this time since the people were travelling together and would have been in a relatively small area.
3. **לך מנה את-ישראל ואת-יהודה:** ..., '... Go, number Israel and Judah' (II Sam.24:1).

first step was to 'raise the head' of the people. As well as the time difference between these two incidents, there is also a difference in non-verbal context. At the time of David, the Israelites were spread throughout the country, so those who would count them had to go out to all of the places in which they were (i.e. **מִן־כָּל־עָרֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל**). For this the verb **שָׂא** was used. In the time of Moses, on the other hand, the Israelites were in a smaller area and could be gathered together into one place ( **תַּקְהִיל** : Num.1:18). It is in this context in which **נָשָׂא אֶת־רֹאשׁ** occurs. This non-verbal context of areal proximity is shared by all eight of the occurrences of **נָשָׂא אֶת־רֹאשׁ** used in this context of an inventory. In the Exod.30 and Num.1-4 and 26 occurrences, the phrase is used of those within the Israelite group, while in Num.31 it is used of a consolidated group of spoil (v.26) and of a separate group within the nation, the army (v.49).

The evidence suggests that the interpretation of as 'to single out' best fits the context and has the advantage of fitting the verses in 1.3 as well. If used of a number of people, this implies their being grouped. It also implies setting an individual or group apart, either physically or metaphorically, for some purpose.

## 2 **רָם**, 'to be raised'

2.1 **נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ רָם** occurs only in the Psalms, twice each in the Qal<sup>1</sup> and Hiphil stems.<sup>2</sup> The former concern enemies

1.Pss.27:6 (Solomonic); 140:10 (Davidic).

2.Pss.3:4 (Davidic); 110:7 (tenth cent. B.C.).

who are surrounding the Psalmist. In one he tells of

Yahweh's help in days of need and says: (6) **וַעֲתָה זָרוּם רֹאשִׁי**

**עַל אֹיְבֵי סָבִיבוֹתַי וְאֶזְכָּקָה בְּאֹהֲלֵי זִבְחֵי תְרוּמָה אֲשִׁירָה וְאֶזְמָרָה לַיהוָה:**

'And now my head is raised above my surrounding enemies.

I will offer in his tent offerings with shouts, I will sing and sing with accompaniment to Yahweh' (Ps.27). The context of joy shows that the state indicated by the 'raised head' is desirable when the Psalmist is facing his enemies. The opposite case holds in Ps.140:10 in which the Psalmist asks Yahweh:

(9) **אַל-תִּתֵּן יְהוָה מִאֲוֵי רָשָׁע זִמְמוֹ אֶל-תַּפֶּק**

**סֵלָה: (10) זָרוּמוֹ וְרֹאשׁ מִסָּבִי עַמִּי שִׁפְתֵימוֹ יִכְסֹּרוּ:**

'Do not provide, Yahweh, the cravings of the wicked; his plots, do not fulfill. Selah. Raised of head are those who surround me; may the evil of their lips cover them'.<sup>1</sup> Here the 'raised head' of the enemy is unacceptable to the Psalmist.

In the first example the preposition **עַל** indicates that in some sense the Psalmist is in a position of superiority over his enemies.<sup>2</sup> A. Weiser suggested that the superiority in Ps.27:6 is moral in character meaning pride,<sup>3</sup> and that the same pride or arrogance is also found in Ps.140:10.<sup>4</sup>

1. MT reads: **וְרֹאשׁ מִסָּבִי וְגו': (9) ... רָשָׁע זִמְמוֹ אֶל-תַּפֶּק זָרוּמוֹ סֵלָה: (10) רֹאשׁ מִסָּבִי וְגו':** but the textual emendation restores the chiasmus between the verses and eliminates the uneven balance of the strophes in both verses. Cf. RSV, NEB who adopt this emendation.

2. The second example, not having an element of comparison between the enemies and the Psalmist but rather being a description of the state of the enemy, does not have this preposition.

3. The Psalms, p.249.

4. *Ibid.*, p.809. Cf. 1.2, p.15.

M. Dahood, on the other hand, interpreted the gesture in the first example as indicating military, rather than moral, superiority.<sup>1</sup> It is not possible from the context to determine the exact nature of this gesture, which is understood as being literal, but it is clear that it implies some form of superiority. The action thus has symbolic significance.

2.2 Both times that **הָרִים רֹאשׁ** occurs, it denotes an action performed by Yahweh. The Psalmist says: **וְאַתָּה יְהוָה (4)**

**מִגֵּן בְּצַדִּי כְבוֹדִי וּמְרִים רֹאשִׁי: (5) קוֹלִי אֶל-יְהוָה אֶקְרָא וַיַּעֲנֵנִי**

**מִהָר קִדְשׁוֹ סֵלָה:** 'But you, Yahweh, are a shield for me, my glory and the raiser of my head. I call to Yahweh and he answers me from his holy mountain' (Ps.3). Here Yahweh 'raises the head' of the Psalmist to his benefit. Both W. Weiser and M. Dahood interpret **הָרִים רֹאשׁ** as referring to the Psalmist's honour.<sup>2</sup> This is a satisfactory interpretation, since it includes some kind of active help which is indicated by the context.

1. Psalms 1:1-50 (1965, rep.1974), p.168, "suggesting a sign of triumph".

2. "To restore his honour before me", A. Weiser, Psalms, p.117; "defends my honor", M. Dahood, Psalms, p.18. Dahood, *ibid.*, adds the idea of victory, referring to Gen.40:20 as an equivalent usage, i.e. "and gives me victory over my adversaries". This verse is not equivalent, however, since this is not the meaning established for **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ** in this context (cf. 1.4, p.27 where 'to single out' is proposed). Also, a different verb (**נָשָׂא**) is used in Genesis than in Psalms (**הָרִים**) which, unless the opposite can be shown, suggests a different meaning. It could be said that this is a poetic variant of **נָשָׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ**, but the meanings do not correspond. J. Khanjian suggested a comparison with **נָשָׂא רֹאשׁוֹ** meaning "to pardon", etc. (cf. 1.3, p.17) in AnUr 50, p.392. 'To single out' is not appropriate in this passage.



2.3 Yahweh, after judging the nations and 'striking the head'<sup>1</sup> all through the land: מִנְחָל בְּדֶרֶךְ יִשְׁתֶּה עַל-כֵּן יָרִים רֹאשׁ  
 'He will drink from the wadi on the way, therefore he will raise the head' (Ps.110:7). The structure of the verse indicates that יָרִים רֹאשׁ is the result of the previous action or actions. A. Weiser proposed that the verse is not part of the psalm per se, but is rather ritual instruction to be performed when the psalm is used.<sup>2</sup> This is a possible explanation, but it is not discernable from the text itself. Others have attempted an explanation by textual emendation. M. Dahood, after a completely different interpretation of the beginning of the verse (i.e. "the Bestower of Succession set him on his throne, the Most High Legitimate One lifted high his head")<sup>3</sup> proposed to follow the Syriac and two Hebrew texts which read רָאָשׁ rather than רֹאשׁ, making the verb reflexive, which could be the case even if the variant reading was not adopted. The alternative, that the king's head is raised, does not appear acceptable either since it is not clear how it is related to, and dependent upon, drinking from the wadi. The Syriac and several Hebrew manuscripts also read יָרָם rather than יָרִים,<sup>4</sup> but this emendation does

1. Cf. C 1, pp.54-55.

2. Psalms, p.697. He states a possible parallel with an unspecified Ugaritic text in which the king drinks from a sacred fountain in order to receive strength for war. If the Psalm reference is to Yahweh, it does not appear to occur in the right place in the Psalm since the judgement and punishment which would require the additional strength have already taken place. If on the other hand the instructions refer to the king (v.1), this could be in reference to his leading his forces from the holy mountain (v.3).

3. Psalms III:101-150 (1970), p.112.

4. BHS 11, p.108 note a on Ps.110:7.

not seem to lead any closer to a satisfactory interpretation of the verse. All that appears possible to say is that 'raising the head' is idiomatic since it has some significance which is not clear from this single occurrence in this context.

3 našû(m), 'to raise'

rēša(m) našû(m) occurs in a number of different contexts, including prayer,<sup>1</sup> sacrifice,<sup>2</sup> building,<sup>3</sup> divine epithets,<sup>4</sup> suffering,<sup>5</sup> favourable omens,<sup>6</sup> the delivery of people or objects,<sup>7</sup> as well as divine benevolence.<sup>8</sup>

3.1 An NA example of rēša našû occurring in divine epithets concerns Marduk, who is: (3) kaš-tu na-šá-a re-ši zi-i-me nam-ru-ti šá bu-an-na-ne-e (4) šu-tú-ru, 'honoured, with raised head, with shining visage, whose features are

1. E.g. K.2360+I:10 in Gilgamesh IX - NA; MNB 1848 V:18 in RAcc., p.154 - NB. In both cases the head is literally raised in order to address the god.
2. E.g. VAT 9518:10, 11, 12, in Tul, p.43 (translit. only) - UB. The action is literal and does not have any symbolic significance other than as an omen.
3. E.g. JRAS Cent. Suppl. (1924), pl.IX:25, par.27 - OB; K.7669:15, 18 in CT XXXVIII 1 (pl.1) - NA. In both of these, 'head' is metaphorically transferred to the 'top' of buildings, and the phrase indicates high buildings rather than a gesture.
4. VAT 10105:3 in KAR 104 (pl.183) - MA; K.4809:24 in IV R pl.1; K.8235+:12 in ZA 4 (1889) p.245 - NA; VAT 263+:r. 11, 13 in SBH 9 (pl.19) - Sel.
5. E.g. VAT 150:17 in Winckler & Abel, Thontafelfund 7 (pl.6a) - EA; RS 25.460:13', par.15' in Ugaritica V (1968), p.435 - Ugar.; K.2774+ in Gilgamesh XII:149 - NA. Cf. also SU 51/7 ('Gilgamesh') in JCS 8 (1954), p.91, where the action is literal, i.e., Enkidu, who is dead, does not raise his head: (r.12) u šū lā inaša rēšišu cf. III F b.2, p.123, fn.1.

surpassing'.<sup>1</sup> našá rēši, which is the stative or verbal adjective here and in each of the other passages mentioned on p.31, n4 is in the context of other praiseworthy attributes.<sup>2</sup> A.L. Oppenheim interpreted rēša(m) našû(m) as being an expression of pride,<sup>3</sup> which gives the phrase a reflexive sense. W.G. Lambert translated the phrase in a different text as "you are exalted".<sup>4</sup> Both of the interpretations are acceptable in this context, and there is not enough evidence to lead to a choice between them:

.....

6. E.g. BM 22447:16 in CT III, pl.2 - OB; AO 7028:3 in RA 38 (1941), p.80 - OB.
  7. E.g. YBC 3717:8-9 in YOS VI 200 (pl.LXVII); YBC 4051:6-7 in ibid., 206 (pl.LXXI); VAT 3017:17 in VAS V 12 (pl.8) - NB.
  8. K.3343:8 in IV R, pl.20, 2 - NA.
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1. VAT 10105, KAR 104.
  2. K.4809:24, IV R, pl.1, šīru, narām Ekur; VAT 263:9, SBH 9, utta'ad, nūr ... ša šamē: etc.
  3. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.252.
  4. /n/a-šá-a re-šá-a-ka - K.8234:12 in AfO 19 (1959-1960), p.62. This might also be the use of the phrase in SU 51/46A:r.9' in STT I70(pl. LXXXV), which is broken but reads: (9') na-šá-a re-e-ši šar-ra-bu-ú, 'With raised head, majestic'. The verb here is in the same grammatical form and is also in the context of a praiseworthy attribute.

3.2 rēša(m) našû(m) occurs in several passages relating to death or suffering.<sup>1</sup> After Enkidu had died in the underworld: abi(AD)-šú u ummi(AMA)-šú rēs(SAG)-su na-šu-ú, 'his father and his mother raise his head' (K.2774+).<sup>2</sup> In this passage and others with a similar context, the head is raised in order to look after or comfort the person who is sick or dead, by supporting them.<sup>3</sup> It is thus a literal action.

In a tablet from the Isin period, a sufferer said:  
 (1) i-na qa-ti ap-li-im (2) re-ši ú-la a-na-ši, 'I cannot look after myself, (i.e. raise my head) by an heir' (AO 4318).<sup>4</sup> Here having an heir is equated to 'raising the head'. The idea of being looked after has been given to the phrase rēša(m) našû(m) itself rather than the action of raising the head, so the phrase is idiomatic.<sup>5</sup>

1. Cf. p.31, n.5.

2. Gilgamesh XII:149.

3. Cf. VAT 150:17, Thontafelfund 7, in which Burnaburiasš, king of Babylon, wrote to Naphururia, king of Egypt: (16) ki-i ma-ar-ša-ku a-bu-ú-a ul iš-me-e (17) am-mi-ni re-e-ši la is-ši 'Didn't my brother hear that I was sick? Why did he not look after me?' Oppenheim, in 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.252, interpreted the phrase as 'to comfort'. J. Khanjian proposed "to restore the well being of an individual" for RS 25.460:13', par.15', Ugaritica V, p.435 in AnOr 50, p.392.

4. TCL I 9 (pl.VII). J.J.A. van Dijk, in La sagesse suméro-accadienne (1953), p.121 recognised this as being one of the 'righteous sufferer' discourses.

5. It could be argued that the phrase here connotes pride (cf. p.32) which would be derived from begetting an heir. The next part of the text tells of other deprivations of the comforts of life (e.g. food, ll.3-8, fine clothes, l.6, and oil, l.7), which suggests that the idiom denotes a similar context.

In several OB texts, 'raising the head' is a favourable result of an omen, probably with this same meaning.<sup>1</sup> An example is an OB lecanomancy text which says that if the oil dissolves at sunrise: (69) ... i-lu-um re-eš a-wi-lim i-na-aš-ši, 'the god will look after (i.e. raise the head of) the man' (BM 22446).<sup>2</sup> The antithetical omen of the oil dissolving at sunset indicates grief (lumun libbi, 1.70). G. Pettinato translated rēša(m) našû(m) by "unterstützen" 'to support'.<sup>3</sup> This support and care is thus not confined to contexts of sickness but also to such general situations as this as well as more specific situations such as a military expedition<sup>4</sup> or international relations.<sup>5</sup>

3.3 In a number of NB texts, rēša našû is used in the context of men escorting another man for delivery to someone

1. E.g. BM 22447:16, CT III, 2; AO 7028:3, RA 38, p.80; YBC 4641:28 in YOS X, 47 (pl.XCVIII); YBC 4589:6 in ibid., 53 (pl.CXIII).
2. CT V, pl.6.
3. Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern II (1966), p.31. Cf. also AHW., p.763 (sub našû(m) II 3d) "sich kümmern um", 'to care for' for this text and others in this section.
4. BM 22447:15, CT III, 2; nīš rēšim šāb(ERIM.HI.A) harrānim(KASKAL zittam ikkal), 'the raising of the head; the expeditionary force will partake of the spoil' in which rēša(m) našû(m) is equated with sharing the booty.
5. KBo 1, 29:12 (pl.61) in which two gods: inaššū rēški and will give peace and brotherhood between Egypt and the Hittites.

else, usually a temple authority.<sup>1</sup> It is recorded that ūmu ša rēssu inaššû, 'when his head is raised' they bring him (ibakkamma) and hand him over (inandin).<sup>2</sup> The syntax indicates that these three actions are stages in a process. R. Dougherty pointed out that rēša našû occurs in a similar context to erēšu, 'to request',<sup>3</sup> but this similarity does not prove equivalence of meaning. This difference is clearer when it is noted that in the first instance it is the person who is brought to the officials whose head is 'raised' by a third party, while it is the official to whom the person is brought who requests (erēšu) him.

A.L. Oppenheim also listed a number of texts in which rēša našû occurred as part of a similar process. The person brought was given to others, such as the king, instead of temple officials.<sup>4</sup> He translated rēša našû as an idiom: "to cite, to summon (somebody)".<sup>5</sup>

All of these examples are part of a process of gathering for some purpose. Desire for the delivery is expressed, either as a command of the official or the king,

1. E.g. YBC 3717:8-9, YOS VI 200; YBC 4051:6-7, ibid., 20b; cf. AJSL 46 (1930), p.89 and following for further examples.
2. YBC 3801:7-8 in YOS VII 157 (pl. LX ). Cf. CAD AI, p.7 (sub abāku A 4 c) for other examples with similar form.
3. AJSL 46, p.85. Cf. e.g. YBC 3852 :6-7 in YOS VI 234 (pl. LXXX ): ūmu ša iū šatammu u iū šangû (7) ša Eanna iriššūnutu ibbakūnim (8) ana iū šatammu u iū šangû inamdinnuš.
4. E.g. K.616:r.9' in ABL 127, p.119 and others.
5. 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.252-253.

or by erēšū, then the 'head is raised' (rēša našû), followed by the person being brought (abāku), and delivered (nadānu).<sup>1</sup> It is clear from these texts that the action rēša našû is part of the process prior to bringing the person (abāku). Grammatically 'raising the head' is transitive, being done by one person to another.

In view of the cumulative evidence, the best English translation of rēša(m) našû(m) appears to be 'to single out', which denotes preparation for a special purpose. This interpretation maintains a semantic link with the individuality, which is expressed by rēša(m), used in synecdoche for the person or individual. The English 'single' in the translation expresses this individuality.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note should be made that paqādu also occurs in this context. E.g. K.616, ABL 127: (v4) lu-tar-bi-ā-ni (v5) i-si-ia it-tal-ku-u-ni (v6) pa-an lu-mu-šar-kis (MEŠ) (v7) ap-ti-qid-su-nu (v8) šum-ma šar-ru (LUGAL) be-li (v9) rēs (SAG) -su-nu i-na-ši (v10) pa-an lu-mu-šar-kis (MEŠ) (v11) ina uru-kal-ba šu-nu, 'The apprentices went with me, I appointed them as officers. If the king my lord raises their heads as officers, they are in Kalbu.'

2. The meaning of rēša našû occurring in a curse in the MA version of the Etana epic, found in AfO 14 (1944), pl. IX, is ambiguous. Following a break, it records: (4) /ḡiškak/ku (TUKUL) mul-ta/r-p/i-du elī (UGU) -šû li-šir (5) ḡšā-maš ina ša-qi-ši re-su liš-ši (6) ḡšā-maš lim-na ana gāt (SU) ma-bi-si lu-me-li, 'May the pursuing weapon go directly at him; may Šamaš raise the murderer's head from him; may Šamaš give over the wicked one to the hands of the striker' (K.155). This literal translation is supported by the parallel use of the preposition in Gen.40:19: מִן־הַמְּלָכִים יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ..., in which decapitation is meant, as well as by the occurrence of mābišum, which E.A. Speiser translates as "executioner" in ANET, p.115.

Speiser, however, translates 1.5 by "May Shamash single him out from among the killers." This meaning of rēša našû has just been noted above, but this translation requires a plural reading of the noun, i.e. šāqišī, rather than a singular, i.e. šāqiši. The long, final vowels in this text are usually marked, e.g. 1.7 gal-la-a for gallâ, which indicates that this is a singular form, weakening Speiser's interpretation.

E. Ebeling in AfO 14 (1944), p.299 translated rēša našû by "zur Rechenschaft ziehen", 'to bring to judgement'. This does not explain the use of ina in the immediate context of the idiom.

3.4 Non-animate objects also occur as objects of rēša našû.<sup>1</sup> An NB legal text concerning repayment of a debt owed by Šumā to Hibīa records: (17) a-di re-eš <sup>še</sup>zēri(NUMUN) <sup>I</sup>Šu-ma-a i-na-aš-šu-a-na/ <sup>I</sup>Hi-bi-ia i-nam-din-nu, 'When Šumā raises the head of the field, he will give it to Hibīa' (VAT 3017).<sup>2</sup> Here rēša is extended in use to be used of a sown field but its exact meaning is unclear. Again rēša našû is a step in the process. After it is done, the field is given to another. The translation 'to single out' could also apply here, but another interpretation is suggested by some of the other texts suggesting that more than this is meant.

An MB kudurru records that two officials sent to help settle a dispute concerning ownership of a field: (6) ... re-eš eqli(A.ŠÀ) šu-a-tum (7) iš-šu-ma 30 <sup>še</sup>zēri(NUMUN) (8) im-šu-bu-ma (9) a-na <sup>I</sup>mu-un-na-bit-tum (10) ... ú-kin-nu, 'they raised the head of that field. They measured 30 acres,<sup>3</sup> and ruled for Munnabittum' (MDP VI pl.9). In this case there was only one field under dispute, so it would not need to be singled out.<sup>4</sup> The field was, however,

1. E.g. fields and grain: BM 90827 II:48 in BBSt., pl.IX - Kas.; MDP VI, pl.9:7 - MB; VAT 3017:17 in VAS V 12 (pl. gold: 83-1-18, 5:r.2, r.5 in ABL 476, p.514 - NB.

2. VAS V 12.

3. So CAD Z, p.92 (sub zēru 2).

4. L. King in BBS., p.13 and W. Hinke in A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I from Nippur (1907), p.197, interpreted rēš eqli as possibly being the boundary stone, which was taken away.



measured (mašāhu), and rēša našû has also been interpreted as meaning 'to reckon',<sup>1</sup> a case of epexegetis. A similar interpretation was also suggested by others for similar texts.<sup>2</sup>

This interpretation fits well in these passages and also in other texts. In two passages, immediately following the 'raising the head' of a field<sup>3</sup> or gold,<sup>4</sup> a detailed report is sent.<sup>5</sup> This would be expected after an inspection, but would not be the result of merely singling something out. This meaning of 'to reckon, determine the extent' is idiomatic in this context.

3.5 rēša našû occurs in an NA prayer to Šamaš concerning the god's relationship with the world: (8) Šamaš(UTU) a-na ma-a-ti re-ši-ka taš-šá-a, 'Šamaš, you raise your head to the land' (K.3343).<sup>6</sup> This is in the immediate context of the benevolence of Šamaš towards the creatures of the earth and

1. Cf. ULZ 23 (1920), p.153, "die Zahl, Summe aufnehmen, zählen", 'to reckon the number or sum, to compute'.

2. E.g. CAD E, p.406 (sub eṭēru 2b) "survey"; V. Scheil in MDP VI, p.34 "mesurer", 'to measure'; S. Parpola in LAS, p.223 "to check"; also A.L. Oppenheim, 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.252-253, "to examine".

3. BM 90827, BBSt., pl.IX.

4. 83-1-18, 5:r.2, r.5, ABL 476.

5. BM 90827 III: 1, tēmu; 83-1-18, 5:r.6, bariṣtu.

6. IV R 20, 2.

his opening of the door of heaven. In form, the action is reflexive but it is directed towards another (ana māti).<sup>1</sup> The phrase also occurs later in the same prayer<sup>2</sup>: (36) <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) mi-ša-ru ri-is-su i-na-aš-ši-ik, 'Šamaš, justice raises his head to you'(K.4803).<sup>3</sup> This is in the context of the wicked getting his just punishment. The action is again reflexive but directed towards someone else as indicated by the pronominal suffix -k.

A.L. Oppenheim interpreted the first of these occurrences of rēša našû as a god looking favourably at his worshipper,<sup>4</sup> while AHW. interpreted it as "sich kümmern um", 'to look after'.<sup>5</sup> The favourable aspect is evident from the other good things which the god did in the context, but Oppenheim's interpretation is not provable from the text.. The interpretation of the AHW. is weakened since the meaning it proposes is usually expressed by a different form of the phrase in which one person raises the head of another (cf. p.33) rather than the reflexive form found here. The second occurrence of the phrase in the prayer also involves a good and just action, but no definite interpretation of rēša našû in either occurrence in this context

1. Cf. the same form in Gilgamesh IX 1:10 on p.31, n.1 above in the context of prayer.

2. S. Langdon stated in OECT 6, 51 that K.3343 and K.4803 are parts of the same prayer.

3. The dative suffix -k is used rather than the independent preposition ana.

4. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.252. His reference should read IV R\* 20, 2:8 rather than 20.28.

5. P.763 (sub našû(m) I 3 d ).

appears to be possible.

4        šaḳû(m), 'to be high, raised'

4.1 The stative (Züstand) verbal phrase rēša šaḳû occurs only in a few texts,<sup>1</sup> in the context of joy,<sup>2</sup> prayer,<sup>3</sup> and suffering.<sup>4</sup>

4.1.1 In an Amarna letter, Zimridi, a Sidonian official, writes of himself when he heard the king's command<sup>5</sup>: (15) ù yi-ḫi-di līb-bi-ia ù (16) yi-ša-qí rēšī(SAG)-ia ù en-nam-ru (17) 2 ēnī(IGI)-ia, 'my heart rejoiced and my head was raised and my two eyes shone' (VAT 323).<sup>6</sup> The high head is a reflexive physical response to the joy expressed in this context, as are the sparkling eyes. This is then a literal usage of rēša šaḳû, which does have a special connotation, i.e. 'joy'.<sup>7</sup>

1. K.2039+:1-4 is a lexical list which provides Sumerian equivalents for šaḳû ša rēši but does not serve to clarify the meaning of the phrase since it does not supply an actual use in context, i.e.: (1) SAG.UŠ šá-qu-u šá re-ši (2) SAG.ZI " šá " (3) SAG.IL " šá " (4) GU.ZI " šá ", II R 30, 1.
2. VAT 323:16 in Winckler & Abel Thontafelfund 90 (pl.93) - EA.
3. K.6477+:16 in BMS 2 (pl.4) - NA.
4. K.2518+:4 (and parallels) in Lambert BWL, pl.4 - NA (probably from Kassite original).
5. Thontafelfund 90: (13) u inūma ištēmi awat (14) šarri bēlīa inūma ištappar ana ardišu, 'And when I heard the word of the king my lord that he sent to his servant'.
6. Ibid.
7. A.L. Oppenheim in LFM p.126 translates l.16 as "I hold my head high ..." which does not reflect the stative nature of the verb. Cf. VAB II 144, 16 (p.601) and CAD H, p.26 (sub baḳû 2), where the stative is reflected.

4.1.2 rēša šaqû is also used to describe a god, Ninurta, in an NA prayer of praise to him: (16) ina É.KUR bīt(É) ta-šī-la-a-ti šá-qa-a re-šá-a-ka (17) id-din-ka-ma <sup>d</sup>En-líl abī(AD)-ka (18) te-rit kul-lat ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) qa-tuk-ka tam-bat, 'Your head is raised in Ekur, the house of advice, for Enlil, your father, has given you command of all of the gods, which you hold in your hand' (K.6477+).<sup>1</sup> Here the head has been raised by another, resulting in this state, or else it could be reflexive. This appears to be another literal use of the phrase in which rēša refers to the individual who is 'elevated' or 'honoured', as explained by the following two lines. There is also the element of 'singling out' from among all of the other gods in order to be placed in authority over them which the phrase could idiomatically contain within its semantic range, but the paucity of similar examples does not allow the definite inclusion of the latter interpretation into the semantic range of rēša šaqû.

4.1.3 The speaker in Ludlul has been wrongfully attacked even though he was righteous. His active lips and shouts have been silenced (ll.71-72): (73) ša-qa-a-tum re-ša-a-a ik-nu-uš qaq-qar-šū (74) līb-bi kab-ba-ra-a pi-rit-ti ú-tan-niš, 'My raised head bowed to the ground. My stalwart heart, fear weakened (K.2518+).<sup>2</sup> In each case, a positive attribute

1. BMS 2. šaqû is the feminine dual verbal adjective. Ebeling in Handerhebung, p.25 n.25 states that Ninurta has two heads, but cf. e.g. VAT 9721:2 in KAR 39(pl.70 - MA)+ K.8601:7 in JRAS (1929), p.764, and K.162:r.18 in BAL III, pl.57 (NA), in which the noun also occurs in the plural form (SAG.MEŠ) but without the idea that some multi-headed being is involved.

2. Lambert, BWL, pl.4.

of the speaker has been negated by the uncalled for attack. The context does not supply enough guidance to provide a definite interpretation of the phrase here. It could be a reflexive action showing joy (cf. 4.1.1, p.40) or pride (cf. 1.2, p.14; 2.1, pp.27ff, and especially 5.2, p.47).<sup>1</sup>

4.2 The transitive D-stem, i.e. rēša šuqqû, 'to make high, raise the head' occurs in the context of prayer to, or praise of, a god.<sup>2</sup>

A Ludlul text is broken in the immediate context of the phrase: (8) [X X (X)] -ti qa-ti iṣ-bat (9) [X X (X)] im-ba-ša-an-ni (10) [Marduk(AMAR.U/TU)û-ša-qi re-ši (11) im-ba-aṣ rit-ti ma-bi-ṣi]-ia, 'he grasped my hand, [...] he struck me, [Marduk] raised my head, striking the hand of those who struck me'(VAT 9442).<sup>3</sup> Previously the god had given the speaker life (uballiṭanni, 1.4) and pulled him from the Hubur (ina Hubur išdudanni, 1.7), so these subsequent actions are probably also beneficial.<sup>4</sup> W.G. Lambert translated uṣaqqi rēši here as "he restored me",<sup>5</sup> in reference to the raising of a head bowed down in grief.<sup>6</sup>

1. This ambiguity of rēša šuqqû is especially effective in this poetic passage, and could well have been a deliberate choice by the author for exactly this reason.
2. In 'Ištar's Descent into the Underworld', Asušanimar is told that after he has had Ergškigal utter an oath: (r.18) šu-qi rēši(SAG.MEŠ)-ka a-na <sup>KUS</sup>hal-zi-qi uz-na šu-kun (19) e be-el-ti <sup>KUS</sup>hal-zi-qu lid-nu-ni mē(A.MEŠ) ina lib-bi lu-ul-ta-ti, 'raise your head, turning to the water bag. "Please, my lady, may they give me the water bag that I may drink from it" (K.162, BAL, p.157. The parallel VAT 9729 in KAR 1 [pl.3] is MA.). Here the petitioner is to raise his own head prior to a prayer. This is a usage similar to that of rēša našû in which the head is literally raised to address a deity (cf. p.31, n.1), except in this instance the petitioner is apparently face to face with the god who, however, is still superior and so to be looked up to.

This interpretation is similar to that which was found for rēša(m) našû(m) in a similar context (cf. 3.2, pp. 33-34), with the meaning 'to look after'.

In another example of the phrase used explicitly in the context of a petition to a god, the righteous sufferer says: (4) ila(DINGIR) /al-s/i-ma ul /id-d7i-na pa-ni-/š/u (5) ú-/šal-l7i <sup>d</sup> iš-tar-ri ul ú-šá-qa-a re-ši-šu, <sup>1</sup> 'I asked the god, but he did not present his face; I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head' (SU 51/32).<sup>2</sup>

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3. Lambert, BWL, pl.18.

4. L.9 is difficult to understand, unless it refers to the mābišu in l.11, rather than to the god who was helping.

5. BWL, p.59.

6. Ibid., p.300, note on IV 10. Grief is explicit in K.8601+, JRAS (1929)p.764:(6) di-im-ti tu-um-tal-la-an-ni (7) rēši(SAG.MEŠ) -ia šu-uq-qi, 'you filled me with tears; raise my head', which is also mentioned by Lambert. Cf. K.2537 which Lambert says is similar in BWL, p.300: (11) eprāt(SAĤAR.MEŠ) mu-ti ma-la-a rit-ta-šu (12) /m7u-um-mu pī-ta-at pa-ni-šu (13) / UT mu-še-qa-at re-ši-šu.

1. Lacunae supplied from K.2518+ in Lambert BWL, pl.4, which also reads the final -šu as -ša, showing that the action of 'raising the head' is reflexive. Cf. also Lambert BWL, p.288, note on l.5, regarding the preferability of the reading ušaqqā to išaqqā.

2. Lambert, BWL, pl.8.

In these two parallel lines the head was not raised nor the face presented when the god was petitioned. The raised head and presented face are both stated as if they are the response normally expected from a god when he received a request. rēša šuqqû has been interpreted as an idiom meaning "to pay attention to"<sup>1</sup> and "to look at".<sup>2</sup> This interpretation is strengthened by the parallelism in a bilingual prayer to Enlil which says: (r.6') ki-niš nap-lis-su /liq-bi-ka/ (r.8') /re/-ši-ka šu-uq-qí-šú /liq-bi-ka/, "Look on him favourably", [may he say to you]. "Lift up your head to him", [may he say to you]! (K.5992).<sup>3</sup> Here the parallel is explicitly 'to look at favourably', which, in this context, would be 'to answer the prayer'. Since the prayers are for aid from the god, this is the meaning of rēša šuqqû, i.e. 'to help'. This is a more specific development of the idiom than 'to look after' (p. 33f) since it is only used regarding answering prayer, but it is also a broader extension than that since it is used of help in other cases than suffering or bereavement.

5                    ullû(m), 'to make high, raise'  
rēša(m) ullû(m) occurs in OB and NB texts. There are

1. Lambert BWL, p.288,

2. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.254.

3. OECT VI, pl.IV. Alternative lines are in Sumerian.

two uses of the phrase, one with inanimate objects (buildings, cities, etc.)<sup>1</sup> and one with animate objects (people and gods).<sup>2</sup> It is only the latter use which is relevant here. There are also two different uses of rēša(m) ullû(m) with people as the object of the phrase, those in which the action is reflexive,<sup>3</sup> and those in which the action is done by one person to another.<sup>4</sup>

1. E.g. LH II' 42-43 in BAL III pl.3; Hammurapi Sippar 16-17 in BAL III pl.1, etc. Cf. CAD E, pp.125-126 (sub elû 5a 1'); AHW, p.208 (sub elû(m) IV D 1b) for further examples. All of these texts concern building with rēša(m) being metaphorically extended from the physical head to include the 'top' of a building, wall, etc., which is literally raised in the building process (cf. rēša(m) našû(m), p.31, n.3). In several texts the verb ullû(m) is used by itself with the same meaning, e.g. BM 102404, CT XXXVII 1: (78) dur(BAD) Sippar(ZIMBIR<sup>ki</sup>) (79) kîma šadîm(KUR<sup>im</sup>) rabîm (80) ulli, 'I raised the wall of Sippar like the mountain'. Cf. CAD E, p.126 (sub elû 5a 2') for further examples. This is apparently an elision of rēša(m) which does not affect the meaning since height, which would be associated with rēša(m), is still emphasized even when the noun is elided (i.e. kîma šadîm). The meaning remained constant from the UB period to the NB period.
2. Cf. CAD E, p.126 (sub elû 5b 1'); AHW, p.208 (sub elû(m) IV D 3) for a number of examples.
3. E.g. VAT 2645 IV:16 in VAS I 33 (pl.22) - UB (cf. BAL II, p.47 for a bibliography of Sumerian and Akkadian parallels); BM 34773:293, par. BM 34633 in Lambert BWL, pl.24 - NB; III R, pl.12, slab 2:25 - NA. The last mentioned text is one of Sennacherib's bull-inscriptions which records him sending his men downstream in boats while he marched on the land: (25) i-na ul-lu-û re-ši-ia ul-tu a-bi <sup>10</sup>pu-rat-ti a-di kib-/ri/ tam-tim ma-lak 2 būru(DANNA) qaq-qa-ru, 'When I raised my head from the bank of the Euphrates to the shore of the ocean, a distance of two double-hours'. The next section is partially unreadable but could possibly be reconstructed as: (26) kali kalu ana/tal/, 'all of the whole I saw'. G. Smith, in History of Sennacherib (1878), p.93, l.72, postulated "I saw?", but read the sign as: û [X X X] and so apparently arrived at this interpretation simply by conjecture. If this reconstruction is valid, the action is literal, allowing the king to see for a distance.



5.1 In an OB building inscription of Samsuiluna concerning the king attaining the desires of his heart, he writes:

(16) u<sub>4</sub>-mi-ša-am in re-ši-in e-li-a-tim (17) in re-ša-a-tim  
 (18) ū bu-ud li-ib-bi-im (19) a-ta-al-lu-kam, 'I walk daily with a raised head in joy and happiness' (VAT 2645).<sup>1</sup> This state, described by the adjective, is the natural, physical response to a feeling of joy. This is a similar context to the one in which rēša šaqû occurs as a stative (7ûstand) verb with the same meaning (cf. 4.1.1, p.40).

5.2 The phrase is used in the context of the lack of joy in the Babylonian Theodicy in which a sufferer says that he is not given help even if he shows humility and is unobtrusive<sup>2</sup>: (293) re-ši-ia<sub>5</sub> ul ul-lu qaq-qa-ri a-na-at-t/a-al (294) re-šiš ul a-dal-lal ina puḫur(UKKIN) it-ba-/ra-ti, 'I do not raise my head, I look at the ground. As a slave I do not glorify among my associates' (BM 34773 and par.).<sup>3</sup> This is a literal physical action as shown by

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4. E.g. VAT 5798:18 in VAS X 215 (pl.54) - OB; VAT 8235:r.6 in KAR 59 (p.104) - MA; K.1349:14 in Winckler Sammlung II, pl.1 - NA; Bu.1929-10-12, 1:11 in Thompson Esarh. pl.4 - NA; BM 102404:106 in CT XXXVII, pl.4 - OB; VAT 9030:r.31 in KAR 58 (p.102) - MA; VAT 3097 I:16 in VAS I 38 (pl.33); I R, pl.67 I:15 - NB; K.1989+:43' in Postgate Royal Grants, pl. XXI - NA; Pagnon Inscriptions sémitiques, pl. XII, col. III:6', 10'; pl. XIII, col. II: 4-5 - NB; and possibly D.T. 64 +: 11 in CT XXXIV, pl.6+ IM 3209 +:13 in Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World, ed. J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford (1972), p.163 (cf. p.161) - NA.

1. VAS I 33.

2. (291) ribit ālī(URU)-ia ubāu nēbiš (292) riqmu ul iššapu iššapil atmūa, 'to the city square I come quietly; my cry is not loud, my speech is subdued' (BM 34773 and par., Lambert, BWL, pl.24 - NB).

its opposition to 'looking at the ground' as well as its accompanying the other physical action of lowered speech (1.292). In form, ll.291 and 292 use epexêgesis in order to say the same thing twice, i.e. l.292, serving as an explanation of l.291. Ll.293 and 294 seem to share this same relationship, forming a chiasmus with the preceeding two lines. This division of the text into two-line strophes is indicated by W.G. Lambert by his separation of them into stanzas.<sup>1</sup> If this is correct, the lowered head is to be explained by the next line, which also is ambiguous. Lambert and R.D. Biggs translate adallal by "I worship",<sup>2</sup> in which praise is directed towards another. CAD, however, translates these lines as "(modest) as a slave, I was never boastful<sup>3</sup> in the assembly of my colleagues".<sup>4</sup> Here adallal was not directed towards another but referred to the speaker. In this case, the lowered head indicates the opposite of this self praise, so the raised head would indicate 'pride' and 'self-esteem'.

.....

3. Ibid.

1. BWL, p.89.

2. Ibid. and ANET<sup>3</sup>, p.604 respectively.

3. Read atallal.

4. I/J, p.294 (sub itbāru b).

5.3 In a typical example of one person 'raising the head' of another, Esarhaddon wrote: (8) ša abbi(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)-ia rabūti(GAL.MEŠ) abbi(ŠEŠ)-šú-nu še-eḫ-ru a-na-ku (9) ina qí-bit Aš-šur ... (10) ... abī(AD) ba-nu-u-a (11) ina puḫur(UKKIN) abbi(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)-ia rēši(SAG.MEŠ)-ia ki-niš ul-li-ma (12) um-mi an-nu-ú ma-a-ru ri-du-ti-ia, 'Of my big brothers, I am their small (brother). At the command of Aššur ..., my father, my engenderer, duly raised my head from among my brothers saying, "This is my successor to the throne"' (Bu. 1929-10-12,1).<sup>1</sup> Several features of this passage are shared with others in which rēša ullû occurs in a similar context. The subject of the verb in each case is a god or else a god instigates the action.<sup>2</sup> Also, the person is given leadership<sup>3</sup> or given special treatment in some other way.<sup>4</sup>

In each case, the person is set apart from his fellows in some way. rēša ullû, in these passages, has been translated as: 'to raise aloft',<sup>5</sup> 'to elevate',<sup>6</sup> 'to exalt',<sup>7</sup>

1. Thompson Esarh., pl.1.

2. Here Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, and Ištar of Arbaili. The other texts have: Aššur-Layard 38:4, K.1989:42', Postgate Royal Grants, pl.XXI, and K.1349:1, Winckler Sammlung II, pl.1; Anu-VAT 5798:17, VAS X 215; Ea - VAT 8235:5, KAR 59; Marduk - VAT 3097:15, VAS I 38, I R 67:15, and Winckler Sar. 30 (pl.4):8; Šamaš- BM 102404+: 105, CT XXXVII, pl.4; Ninlil - VAT 9030:31', KAR 58; and Antum - D.T. 64+:11, CT XXXIV, pl.6+ IM 3209+:13, Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World, ed. Wevers & Redford, p.163.

3. E.g. māru ridūti, 'crown - princship' in this text; šarrūti, 'kingship' - VAT 3097:16, VAS I 38, BM 102404+: 107, CT XXXVII, pl.4; rēūt māti, 'shepherding the nation' - Layard 38:5; bi'elu/belūti, 'lordship' - VAT 3097:17, VAS I 38; I R, pl.67:16; mu'ur kiššati, 'leading the world' - K.1989+:43, Postgate Royal Grants, pl.XXI, and kur Aššur ana wa'ari - K.1349:14, Winckler Sammlung II, pl.1; rabūti(<sup>10</sup>GAL.MEŠ), 'officials' - Pognon Inscriptions

'to choose',<sup>1</sup> 'to nominate',<sup>2</sup> and 'to put in office',<sup>3</sup> which range from the literal to the idiomatic.

This parallels the usage of נִשָּׂא אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ (1.4, p.27) and rēša(m) našû(m) (3.3, p. 36) in which the head is a synecdoche for the person, who is singled out.<sup>4</sup> The similarity of context suggests that the same meaning occurs for rēša ullû here.

.....

sémitiques, pl. XII, col. III 9. Ibid., ll.4-5 are broken before rēša ullû, in l.6. A.L. Oppenheim restores this gap, concerning Nabonidus' mother, by "to become a governess" in ANET<sup>3</sup>, 312.

4. šakānu šūm tābu, 'establish a good name' - Pognon Inscriptions sémitiques, pl. XIII, col. II 6; Cf. nabû šumu, 'call the name' VAT 8235:r.6, KAR 59; ettum muštarbat u kanāt, 'unique, haughty and pampered' - VAT 5798:19, VAS X 215; VAT 9030:r.32, KAR 58, also shows a special relationship with Ninurta: aḫu(ŠEŠ) talīmekā šābit abūti qibi banīti, 'your favourite brother, who intercedes for me; who speaks favourably'.
5. OIP 11, p.117.
6. CAD E, p.126 (sub elû 5b).
7. Thompson Esarh., p.91, 11; Postgate Royal Grants, p.68; Studies in the Ancient Palestinian World, ed. Wevers & Redford, p.164, l.13.

1. ANET<sup>3</sup>, p.312.

2. CAD K, p.385 (sub kīniš b).

3. ANET<sup>3</sup>, p.312.

4. This singling out or choosing is explicit in Sargon's annals which record of Marduk: (9) ... ia-a-ti <sup>1</sup>Šarru(LUGAL) kēnu(GI.NA) ... (10) ... ke-niš ut-ta-an-ni-ma ul-la-a re-ši-ia, 'I, Sargon, ... he duly selected, raising my head' (Winckler Sar. 30, (pl.14)).

reša dekû occurs only in two NB letters<sup>1</sup> and a hymn to Šamaš from Aššurbanipal's library.<sup>2</sup> A letter from two women to their brother asks why he has not acted kindly towards them and continues: (11) .... re-eš-ši-ka (12) di-ki-ma <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) a-mur, '... raise your head, look at Šamaš' (AO 8821),<sup>3</sup> followed by the chiding question 'aren't you my son, and didn't I raise you?'.<sup>4</sup> In this text, as in the other two, the head is raised in order to look at the sun, i.e. Šamaš.<sup>5</sup> It is generally interpreted that this looking at the sun made the person tell the truth.<sup>6</sup> This could also be related to raising the head to pray to the god (cf. p. 31 , n. 1. Also cf. p. 91, n. 4 ), but these few texts do not permit a definite meaning of the phrase to be ascertained.

1. BM 64380:10 in CT XXII 222 (pl. 40) and AO 8821:11-12 in TCL IX 141 (pl. LIII).

2. K. 2860:12 in IV R, pl. 19, 2.

3. TCL IX 141.

4. (12) ... ul mār(DUMU)-Da (13) atta ul anākuma urabbikā.

5. BM 64380, CT XXII 222: (10) re-ši-ka di-ki-e-ma (11) <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) a-mur; K. 2860, IVR 19, 2: (12) de-ka-a re-ša-ši-na i-na-aṭ-tá-lu nu-ur <sup>d</sup>Šamši(UTU<sup>š1</sup>). In the two letters, the verb is an imperative, while in the hymn it is a stative.

6. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p. 253 "alluding probably to some kind of oath"; CAD AII, p. 22 (sub amāru A 5 Šamaš a), "an exhortation to speak the truth", cf. CAD D, p. 127 (sub dekû 2 f 2' d); LFM, p. 193 "Lift up your head and tell the truth by looking toward the Sun god."

rēša matābu is also rare, the only extant texts being NA.<sup>1</sup> The phrase occurs in the first section of the body of a letter: (5) ... šulmu(DU<sup>mu</sup>) a-na (6) pi-qit-ti šá bīt(É) ku-tal-li (7) re-ši-šu in-ta-at-ha<sup>2</sup>, 'It is well with the supplies<sup>3</sup> of the outbuilding. Its head they raised' (K.618).<sup>4</sup> rēša matābu must have a positive meaning since it occurs in the context of šulmu. L. Waterman translated it as "he is of good courage".<sup>5</sup> P.S. Landersdorfer derives a meaning of "trösten, erfreuen", 'to comfort, to cheer'<sup>6</sup> (cf. 4.2, pp. 42-43 ). These explanations, however, are based mainly on a comparison with the literally synonymous phrases mentioned and not on an analysis of the text, since the latter does not supply enough information to lead to a definite interpretation. While any of these explanations are possible, they cannot be taken as proven.

1. K.618:7 in ABL 9 (p.10) and K.1285:12 in Craig ABRT I, pl.5.

2. intatba < imtatba, cf. GAG § 31g.

3. piqittu could either be the material supplies (AHw., p.865 (sub piqittu(m) 1)) or the inspection (cf. ṭpṣ) of the building (loc.cit.2). It has also been translated as a person, e.g. "overseer" in Waterman RCAE I, p.9; "team" in CAD K, p.607 (sub kutallu in bīt kutalli a); "der Verwalter", 'the administrator' in E. Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts aus der Sargonidzeit, p.82, n.1.

4. ABL 9.

5. RCAE I, p.9. Cf. Behrens, Briefe, p.82. "guten Muts sein", 'to be of good courage'; which he says is synonymous with rēša našû.

6. Altbabylonische Privatbriefe, p.12. He agrees with Behrens and stated that šaḳû ša rēši is also synonymous to rēša našû/matābu.

The other occurrence of rēša matāhu is in a dialogue between Nabû and Aššurbanipal in which the former says:

(11) sa a-na-ku da-ba-bu tābu(DUG.GA) at-ta-na-ad-da-nak-ku

(12) a-mat-tah rēš(SAG)-ka ú-šat-tah la-an-ka ina bit(É)

É-maš-maš, 'the good things which I say I will repeatedly give to you. I will raise your head, I will cause you to prosper in the Emašmaš' (K.1235).<sup>1</sup> This was interpreted similarly to the previous example,<sup>2</sup> based on the same comparisons.<sup>3</sup> In this case it is explicitly the god who performs the action, which is again desirable, but a specific translation is still not justifiable.<sup>4</sup>

1. Craig ABRT I, pl.15. Translation of ušattah lānka from CAD L, p.79 (sub lānu a).

2. "Aufrichten, trösten", 'to comfort, care for', in Streck Asb. III, p.519.

3. Behrens, Briefe, p.3.

4. None of the other words for the head (cf. pp. 10-11) occur as the object of any of these verbs.

Several verbs include striking a physical blow in their semantic range. מָחַץ, found only in the Qal-stem, is used exclusively of animate beings such as individuals or nations.<sup>1</sup> It is also used with the head ( רֹאשׁ ) as its object. The Akkadian mahāṣu(m), while also being used of blows upon animate beings,<sup>2</sup> is also used of striking other objects,<sup>3</sup> and has other meanings as well. It occurs in several stems, and is used of the head and its parts.

נָכַח is used of striking a physical blow or blows upon beings or objects.<sup>4</sup> It is extended to be used of a military attack and victory.<sup>5</sup> It is even further extended to include inflicting a plague or similar debility.<sup>6</sup> The verb in the Hiphil-stem, is used with the head and its parts as its object.

The verb מָחַק, a hapox legomena, occurs with the head ( רֹאשׁ ) as its object in a context which leads to the conclusion that it also concerns a physical blow.<sup>7</sup> מָחַץ also

1. Cf. e.g., BDB, p.563 (sub מָחַץ ); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.540 (sub מָחַץ ).

2. Cf. e.g., AHW., pp.580-582 (sub mahāṣu(m) G 1,6,7 and passim).

3. E.g. ibid. (G 2 and passim).

4. Cf. BDB, pp.645-646 (sub נָכַח ); KB, pp.615-616 (sub נָכַח ).

5. Cf. BDB, p.646 (sub נָכַח Hiph.3; Hoph.5); KB, pp.615-616 (sub נָכַח , hif.1 and passim).

6. Cf. BDB, p.646 (sub נָכַח Hiph.4; Hoph.6,7).

7. Judg.5:26 (D). Cf. KB<sup>3</sup>, p.541 (sub מָחַק qal), "zerschmettern", 'to smash'.



includes striking a physical blow within its semantic range,<sup>1</sup> and is used once of the temple.<sup>2</sup> Both of these last verbs indicate a blow that was literal and was done to cause death.<sup>3</sup>

nêru(m)/nâru(m) is used of a physical blow upon individuals and groups,<sup>4</sup> and is used of the head (rāša(m)). rāsu/rāšu also means 'to strike a physical blow' as well as 'to kill', which is part of the same semantic range,<sup>5</sup> and has qaqqada as the direct object.

1 מַחַץ, 'to strike (the head)'

רֹאשׁ is the direct object of מַחַץ in three verses.<sup>6</sup>

The Psalmist describes God as the God of salvation who

controls death (v.21): אַךְ-אֱלֹהִים מַחַץ רֹאשׁ אֶבְיֹר קִדְקֹד (22)

שֶׁר מְתַהַלֵּךְ בְּאַשְׁמִיר, 'For God will strike the head of his enemies, the hairy head<sup>7</sup> of the one who walks in his

1. Cf. BDB, p.1075 (sub מָחַץ); KB, p.1039 (sub תָּקַע 1).

2. Judg.4:21 (D).

3. In the poetic account of Sisera's death at the hand of Yael: יָדָה לַיָּתֵד מַשְׁלֹחָנָה וַיִּמְיָנָה לְהַלְמִית עַמְלִים וְהִלְמָה סִיסְרָא מִחֶקֶה רֹאשׁוֹ; וַיִּמְחֶצֶה וְהִלְחָה וְקָטְוָה, 'Her hand she extended to the peg, her right hand to the worker's hammer, and she hammered Sisera, she struck his head, striking and piercing his temple' (Judg.5:2b). In the corresponding prose account (4:21), the actual blow itself is recorded as: וַתִּתְּקֵה... אֶת-הַיָּתֵד בְּרֹקֶתוֹ וַתִּצָּנֶה בְּאָרְץ וָגו', 'And she struck the peg on his temple and it settled to the earth ...'. From these two passages it is clear that a literal physical blow was struck on the temple. The first verse uses epexegetis for emphasis (i.e., מַחַץ וְקָה, מָחַץ רֹאשׁ, הִלְמָה). The gesture has no apparent idiomatic meaning.

4. Cf. AHW., pp.780-781 (sub nêru(m), nâru(m)).

5. Cf. AHW., p.959 (sub râsu(m)). K.4230 IV:16 in CT XII, pl.43 gives the lexical equivalence of SAG.GIŠ.RA re-e-su/šu. This is the same Sumerogram as for nêru/nâru in K.4230 IV:18, op.cit.: SAG.GIŠ.RA.RA né-e-rù.

6. Hab.3:13 (seventh cent. B.C.); Pss.68:22; 110:6 (tenth cent. B.C.).

7. M. Dahood, Psalms III:101-150 (1970), p.112, interprets these as collective nouns.

guilt' (Ps.68). Grammatically, the verb has two direct objects, ראש and קדקד שער.<sup>1</sup> The subject of the verb here and in the other two verses, all of which are in a poetic style, is Yahweh and in all three verses the object of מחץ ראש is Yahweh's enemies.<sup>2</sup> In two cases, the effect of the action is longlasting.<sup>3</sup>

A. Weiser interpreted מחץ ראש in Ps.68 as meaning 'to put the enemies to the ban'.<sup>4</sup> It is not clear how he derived this technical meaning from the context or the other uses of the idiom. A translation of 'to subdue' is consistent with the context since it involves victory over ones opponents, but connotes a longer state of subjection than does simply 'to defeat'. This translation is supported by Akkadian parallels (cf.3, p. 66).

Apart from Ps.68:22 קדקד is also the probable direct object of מחץ in Num.24:17 (E). Balaam, in this oracle concerning Israel (cf. v.19) said: ... דרך פולב

מִיַּעֲקֹב וְקֵם שֶׁבֶט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וּמַחֵץ פָּאֲתֵי מוֹאָב וְקָדְקַד כָּל-בְּנֵי-שֵׁת:  
 5  
 'A star comes from Jacob and a staff arises from Israel.

1. These two are treated as synonymous for the sake of this poetic parallelism, as are אֵיב and מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּאֲשֵׁמִיּוֹר. Cf. M. Dahood, Psalms I:1-50, op.cit., p.47, note on v.17 concerning the ראש / קדקד pair. There does not appear to be any need for Dahood's reading of the verse as "... split their skulls as he marched forth from his heavens" in Psalms II:51-100 (1974), p.131, since it would destroy the synonymous parallelism which occurs in the preceding and succeeding verses.

2. Ps.110:1: עַד-אֲשֵׁית אֵיבֶיךָ הָדָם לְרִגְלֶיךָ, referring specifically to the enemy kings (v.5) throughout the world (v.6). Hab.3:13: מִחֲצֵת רֹאשׁ... מִבֵּית רֶשַׁע וְגו'.

3. In Ps.68 it is contrasted to the continuing salvation of Yahweh (vv.20-21) and in Ps.110:2 dominion is established. In Hab.3:13 salvation is also mentioned but no length of time is given.

4. The Psalms (1962; rep.1971), p.489.

It strikes the temple of Moab and the head of all the sons of Seth.' This is in the context of a poetic description of the victory of Israel and the dispossession of her surrounding neighbours.<sup>1</sup> Again מחץ קדקד occurs in the context of military superiority with the idea involved of a long-lasting dominion. This inclusion of 'victory' into the semantic range of מחץ קדקד gives a similar range to that of נכה, which as was noted above (p.53), also includes the idea of 'attack' and 'defeat', as well as simply 'striking a blow'.

In several other poetic passages, מחץ is used in a similar context which suggests a similar meaning to the verses studied above.<sup>2</sup> The verb does not have קדקד as its direct object, but this could be the result of the elision of the object, קדקד, from the clause.

2 mabāṣu(m), 'to strike'

rēšam mabāṣum does not occur in the Akkadian texts, while qaqqada(m) and mubba mabāṣu(m) occur in several different contexts.

2.1 qaqqada(m) mabāṣu(m), 'to strike the head'

.....

5. The MT reads קדקד, a hapox legomenon. The emendation (cf. BHS 8, p.51, n.g on v.17) is based on a similar predicate in Jer.48:45. This is apparently a minor scribal error based on the similarity of the two signs. The emendation is supported by the occurrence of the resulting idiom in Ps.68:22 as well.

1. וְהָיָה אֵדוֹם יְרֻשָּׁה וְהָיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל עֵשָׂה חֵיל: (18)

2. E.g. II Sam.22:39 (D); Pss.18:39 (Davidic); 89:11 (pre-exilic, W); Job 20:12 (fifth-third cent. B.C.).

2.1.1 qaddadam maḥāšum is used in an OB royal inscription from Dêr in which Anu-mutabil is praised as a strong man, beloved of Ištaran: (7) šakkanak( GĪR.NĪTA) (8) Dêrim(BAD.DINGIR<sup>ki</sup>) (9) ma-ḥi-iš (10) qa-qa-ad (11) um-ma-an (12) An-ša-an<sup>ki</sup> (13) Elamtim(ELAM<sup>tim</sup>) (14) Ši-maš<sup>ki</sup>-im (15) ù ri-is (16) Ba-ra-aḥ-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>, 'governor of Dêr; striker of the head of the troops of Anšan, Elam, and Šimašim and smiter<sup>1</sup> of Baraḥšim' (BM 91084, par.IM 58333 I:14 - II:8).<sup>2</sup> The parallel texts continue: (24) i -/nu-ma (25) i-na ti-ir-ti (26) <sup>d</sup>Ištaran(KA.DI) (27) be-li-šú (28) qa-qa-ad (29) um-ma-nim (30) ši-a-ti (31) im-ḥu-šú-na (32) ik-ru-ub-ma, 'When he had struck the head of those troops at the command of Ištaran his lord, he prayed' (O. 262).<sup>3</sup>

It is not possible to make a definite interpretation of qaddadam maḥāšum based on these texts since not enough information is given in the context and not enough historical background is known. All that is derivable from the texts is that the action was done by a king to the troops of other countries at the instigation of his god and was a commendable action for him. This is shown by its inclusion in a list of praiseworthy attributes of the king. It is not even clear from the texts themselves whether the action was to the good or ill of the other countries involved, since

1. The participial form of rāsum/rāšum, 'to strike', paralleling the form of māḥiṣ, cf. I.J. Gelb in MAD 3, p.233 (sub R'x<sup>š</sup>). Cf. AHu., p.972 (sub rēsu(m)<sup>2</sup> c) where the word is read re-es(!), "Helfer", 'helper'.
2. BM 91084 in CT XXI, pl.1 and IM 58333 in Sumer 15 (1959) pl.3 which itself is paralleled in O.262 published in Speleers Recueil 4 (p.1). The parallel was noted by T. Jacobson in AJSL 44 (1928), pp.261-263.
3. Op.cit. IM 58333 only has traces of the first letters of ll.24-25.

ri-is, which is in the immediate context, is ambiguous,<sup>1</sup> though generally conquests are recorded rather than aid, and the majority of scholars interpret qaqqadam maḥāšum to signify defeat of the countries mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew parallels (cf. 1, pp. 54-56), though from a later period, support this interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

2.1.2 qaqqadam maḥāšum occurs several times in the context of lawsuits.<sup>4</sup> All examples of this usage are from the OB period and from peripheral areas (e.g. Alalah, Mari and Susa).

G. Dossin established the meaning of the idiom 'striking the head' by examining an OB letter from Mari.<sup>5</sup> In it, two men are to undergo the river ordeal while the 'one who strikes their head' (<sup>lú</sup>māhiš qaqqadišunu) is to be held in prison. If the men are found innocent by the ordeal, he (<sup>lú</sup>māhiš qaqqadišunu) will be burnt, but:

(24) ... šum-ma awīlū(<sup>lú</sup>.MEŠ) (25) im-tu-tu an-ni-ki-am  
 (26) bītāti(<sup>é</sup>.MEŠ)-šu-nu ni-ši-šu-nu (27) a-na ma-hi-i/s  
qa-qa-di-šu-nu (28) a-na-ad-di-in, 'If the men die here,

1. Cf. p. 57, n. 1.

2. Cf. e.g. T. Jacobsen, op.cit., p.262; Sollberger IRSA, p.251; E. Ebeling in RLA I, p.399 (sub Burahi); contra AHW., p.972, loc.cit.

3. The nominal form mebiš qaqqadam, 'a blow on the head', is used in an OB omen text of the enemy (<sup>lú</sup>KUR). I.e. YBC 4628 I:24 in YOS X 36 (pl. LXIV). Cf. also the form in K.159:8 in PRT 105 (pl.56) - NA. This supports the interpretation that qaqqadam maḥāšum refers to a defeat.

4. Symbolae ad Iura Orient Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae, ed. by J. Friedrich, et al (1939), p.113:15, 22-23, 27 (trial); MDP XXII 1 (p.1):16 (adoption); op.cit. 16 (p.24):26; XXIII 166 (p.1):20-21 (land division); op.cit. 235 (p.99):22f (broken);

I will give their property and their people to the one who strikes their head.'

Dossin interpreted <sup>1</sup> mābiš qaqqadim as "accusateur", 'accuser'.<sup>1</sup> He based his interpretation on a similar OB law-case, LH42, which says that in a trial by the river ordeal,<sup>2</sup> he who is charged with the crime (in this case sorcery) shall go into the river: (42) šum-ma nārum(<sup>d</sup>IO) (43) ik-ta-ša-sú (44) mu-ub-bi-ir-šu (45) bīs(É)-su i-tab-ba-al (46) šum-ma a-wi-lam šu-a-ti (47) nārum(<sup>d</sup>IO) (48) ú-te-eb-bi-ba-aš-šu-ma (49) iš-ta-al-ma-am (50) ša e-li-šu (51) ki-iš-pí id-du-ú (52) id-da-ak, 'If the river overcomes him, his accuser shall take his house. If the river proves that man pure and he is saved, he who cast the sorcery upon him shall be put to death'.<sup>3</sup>

Dossin pointed out the parallel between the mubbirum and the mābiš qaqqadam in the two texts. Both would be punished by death if the person on trial were innocent and both would be rewarded with the goods of the man who was found guilty. The meaning of the word mubbirum is

.....

op.cit. 382 (p.77):21-22 (gifts); ATT./39/122 in Wiseman Alalakh 11 (pl.VII - land dispute).

5. 'Un cas d'ordalie par le dieu fleuve d'après une lettre de Mari', in Symbolae ad Iura Orient Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae, op.cit., pp.112-118.

1. Ibid., p.115. Followed by A. Lieberman, Studies in the Trial By River Ordeal in the Ancient Near East During the Second Millenium BCE (1969), p.21.
2. For a study of the river ordeal cf. A. Lieberman, ibid.
3. Cf. Deut.19:18-19 (D) where the false witness is to receive the punishment due to the defendant if proved guilty. Cf. also Dan.13:62 (second cent. B.C.).

generally accepted as meaning 'accuser',<sup>1</sup> since he is the one who laid the claim which brought about the suit. Due to the parallels with the mubbirum, and since the māhiṣ qaqqadam is the one who instigated the suit in this case,<sup>2</sup> the māhiṣ qaqqadam is also to be understood as 'the accuser'.<sup>3</sup>

All eight tablets from Susa, as well as four containing the literally synonymous muhha mabāṣu, 'to strike the skull',<sup>4</sup> include a cautionary formula directed against any who might contest the transaction recorded on the tablet. Part of the formula is common to all: (13) a-na me-e i-la-ak-~~/ma~~ (14) i-na me-~~/e~~ /lu/-li-i (15) Ša<sup>d</sup>-zi qa-aq-qa-as-su li-im-ḥa-aṣ,<sup>5</sup>

'(Whoever disputes the tablet) will go into the water. May he come out of the water. May the god Šazi<sup>6</sup> strike his head' (MDP XXIV 381).

1. Cf. AHw., p.4 (sub abāru III D 2), "bezichtigen", 'to accuse'; BAL I, p.XLVII (sub abālu), "bezichtigen"; Driver and Miles, Babylonian Laws I, p.59, "has accused ... made a charge".
2. Cf. LH 2:50-51, 'he who cast sorcery upon them'.
3. Dossin, loc.cit., pp.117-118. Cf. E. Szlechter, RIDA, 3rd series, XVI (1969), pp.101-102, and CAD S, p.156 sub šibittu 1 b) who follow this interpretation.
4. MDP XXII 131 (p.142):15-16; XXIV 374 (p.65):7; 376 (p.68):16-17; 377 (p.70):18 (gifts).
5. Lacunae filled from the parallel tablets. MDP XXII (op.cit.) 1:15 and 16 (op.cit.):25 read ku(!)-li-i but cf. L. de Meyer, L'accadian des contrats de Suse (1962), p.170 and A. Lieberman, op.cit., p.160 n.73 who interpret the sign as a simple scribal error of neglecting one vertical stroke. MDP XXII 1 (op.cit.):16 and 166 (op.cit.):21 read lim-ḥa-ṣi, for which cf. de Meyer, op.cit., 116 n.2. MDP XXIV 341 (op.cit.) omits ina mē lulī. The other three tablets use the same formula as that found in ll.13-15 above.

As in the Mari example, the idiomatic 'striking the head' is in the context of the river ordeal. In the Susa texts it follows the ordeal rather than proceeding it, which would seem more logical if, as at Mari, the ordeal were a result of the gesture. Because of this order, the precative lulī, 'may he come out', could well be read as a possibility which, if actualized, would lead to the following parts of the curse: 'should he come out of the water, then may the god Šazi strike his head'.<sup>1</sup> Additional parts of the curse are added: e.g., 'may the fear of god and king rest on his head',<sup>2</sup> or 'may the ban of the god and king be cast on his head'.<sup>3</sup>

A. Lieberman recognised the different literary forms and terminological distinctions between these tablets and those in which the ordeal was used as a means of judgement. The formula here is rather prescribing part of a punishment which was to keep anyone from challenging the original document.<sup>4</sup> The phrase could then be a call for Šazi to 'punish' the guilty person by literally striking his head.

.....

6. Ša-d<sup>d</sup>zi - the three other tablets read Ša<sup>dy</sup>zi. He is the son of d<sup>d</sup>ID in K.4332 III:28 and K.4349 III:80 in CT XXIV, pl.16 and pl.28 respectively.

1. Cf. Lieberman, op.cit., p.41, "Let him go to the water (to prove his charge) and let him (so much as) come up, and the god Šazi will smash his skull ...".
2. (16) ha-aṭ-tu ša ili(DINGIR) ù šarri(LUGAL) (17) i-na qa-aq-qa-di-šu li-iš-ša-ki-in in MDP XXIV 381 (op.cit.). Cf. also MDP XXII 1 (op.cit.):17-19.
3. (22) /ma-mit/ ili(DINGIR) ù šar-ri (23) /in/a mu-ḫi-šu li-in-na-di in MDP XXIII 166 (op.cit.).
4. Op.cit., pp.41-42.



The same phrase occurs in an OB text from Alalah which concerns a dispute between Tatteia and her brother, Yarimlim, over the control of a village. She said that their father had given it to her, while he charged that he had done so by mistake.<sup>1</sup> Tatteia then said:

(13) Ia-ri-im-li-im (14) qa-[qa-di-ia] li-im-ḥa-aš-ma

(15) XX[XX]X li X[(XX)], 'May Yarimlim strike [my head]',<sup>2</sup>

which he then proceeded to do before three witnesses.<sup>3</sup>

The village then passed to the control of Yarimlim (ll. 22-24).

The interpretation of qaqqadam maḥāsum in this text is impeded by the lacunae in l.15, but some observations can be made from the remaining context. The action, when performed before witnesses, resulted in the transfer of control of the village to Yarimlim, the subject of the action, from Tatteia, the object. 'Striking the head', however, could not symbolise the actual transfer of control since Tatteia would not have asked for this action to be taken (l.14) unless she thought that her claim to the town

1. (1) aššum <sup>uru</sup> Naštarbi<sup>ki</sup> (2) <sup>mī</sup> Tatteia (3) ana Yarimlim (4) amēl(LU) Alalah<sup>ki</sup> (5) irgum umma šīma (6) <sup>uru</sup> Naštarbi<sup>ki</sup> (7) abīa iāšim uwaddiam (8) umma Yarimlimma (9) abī ina baštamma (10) ša kullim (11) iddinak/k/i, 'Concerning the town of Naštarbi, Tatteia disputed with Yarimlim, the governor of Alalah. She said, "My father assigned to me the town of Naštarbi." Yarimlim said, "My father wrongfully gave you what was to be withheld"' (ATT/39/122 in Wiseman Alalakh 11).

2. Ibid.

3. <sup>I</sup> Ia-ri-im-li-im (17) maḥar(IGI) At-ri-a-du mār(DUMU) [ ] (18) maḥar(IGI) Am-mu-ir-ba mār(DUMU) [ ] (19) ū maḥar(IGI) Na-mi <sup>d</sup> [Da-gan] [ ] (20) qa-qa-ad <sup>mī</sup> Ia-at-[te-e-ia] (21) im-ḥa-aš-ma.

would be upheld. 'Striking the head', since it is done formally in front of witnesses in this dispute context, must then relate to some recognised legal procedure by which the case could be decided. The gesture could be an idiom for 'to accuse',<sup>1</sup> or, more appropriate in this context, 'to institute a formal suit'. This interpretation is problematic since the claim was already being contested,<sup>2</sup> and statements had apparently been given prior to this action taking place.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this gesture was the start of the formal action (rāqāmum) before witnesses (11.17-19), while the previous statements were introductory, explaining the cause of the case rather than reflecting the formal opening statements.

This text is different from the others so far discussed since the water-ordeal is not mentioned, unless it is in the lacunae. There does not, however, appear to be enough space for this. In addition, there is no mention of the ordeal later in the text where it would be expected due to the action of qaqqadam maḥāṣum being again mentioned.

In spite of the observations made above, there is not enough evidence derivable from the context of qaqqadam maḥāṣum in this case to provide a definite interpretation.

1. Cf. the Mari parallel, pp.58-60.

2. irgum, 1.5.

3. 11.5-11.

## 2.2 muhba(m) mabāšu(m), 'to strike the skull'

muhba(m) mabāšu(m) occurs in several different contexts, including a lion hunt text,<sup>1</sup> a medical text,<sup>2</sup> a personal epithet in a medical ritual text,<sup>3</sup> an incantation ritual,<sup>4</sup> and legal texts.<sup>5</sup>

1. K.6085:2' in Bauer Asb., pl.43 - NA. This text from Aššurbanipal's library, speaking of lions, records:  
(1') /š/al-šu kalitē(BIR.MES) am-ḥa-as-ma ul [XXX] X  
[ / (2') /r/i-bu-u muḥ-ha am-ḥa-as-su-ma [X]  
a-šú E X [ / (3') ba-an-šú ma-at-nu-šú  
ḡ-bat-ti-iq-ma a-XX [ / , 'The third, I struck  
the kidneys ...; the fourth, I struck his skull ...;  
the fifth, I cut his sinews ...'. Striking the head  
is here to be understood literally, as part of the  
hunt, since it is one of a list of literal actions.
2. MLC 2639:10' in JCS 2 (1948), p.305 - NB. muhba mabāšu  
occurs in this text several times in its stative form,  
e.g., (10') šumma(DIŠ) ina muḥḥi(UGU)-šú maḥis(SIGIŠ)-ma  
uznā(GEŠTU<sup>11</sup>)-šú la(NU) šemā(ŠE.GA a) qāt(ŠU) dIštar(XV),  
'If he is struck in his skull and his ears do not hear,  
it is the hand of Ištar'. The parallel of muhba mabāšu  
with uznā la šemā, which is a physical debility, shows  
that the former is also such a debility. muhba is the  
literal skull which is afflicted (mabāšu), a metaphorical  
extension from a literal, physical blow.
3. 339c+ IV:9-10 in KUB XXIX 58 (pl.48) - Bogh. When used  
as an epithet, māḥiṣ muḥḥi occurs in the context of an  
enumeration of diseases and demons: (8) d<sup>a</sup>la-ma-aš-tu  
d<sup>a</sup>la-bā-šu dab-ḥa-zu (9) šabtu(DIB)-uš e-nu-un-gal  
ki-ša-ti ma-bi-iš (10) mu-ub-bi mu-ra-am-mu šer'āni(SA)  
mu-ub-bi-il (11) li-iq pī-i, 'Whom Lamaštu, Labašu, or  
Abbažu have seized, or the Warden of the forests, who  
strikes the skull, who makes lose the muscles, who dries  
up the palate'. Since māḥiṣ muḥḥi is only used as an  
epithet, without further explanation, it is not possible  
to accurately define it, but a partial interpretation can  
be derived from its semantic field. The context concerns  
undesirable bodily afflictions, either personified (ll.  
8-9a) or described literally (ll.9bff). māḥiṣ muḥḥi is  
the same participial form as the following literal physical  
debilities and should also be considered as literal,  
possibly a headache, or some other similar affliction  
which could be caused by a blow to the head.
4. K.2728+:148 in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.21 - NA. The person  
receiving the incantation is to set demons on the  
sorceress: (148) a-maḥ-ḥaṣ muḥ-ḥa-ki ḡ-ša-an-na tē-en-ki  
(149) a-dal-laḥ līb-ba-ki ta-maš-ši-i šīri(UZU.MES),  
'I will strike your skull, I will alter your report, I  
will confuse your heart (so) you will forget the oracles'.

2.2.1 As noted above,<sup>1</sup> mubba mabāšu occurs four times in the cautionary formula of legal texts from Susa. The form of the formula is somewhat different from that in which qaqqada mabāšu occurs,<sup>2</sup> but the meaning appears to be the same because of the identity of context. The shared semantic range of qaqqada and mubba in this context is also shown by the parallel of imubbišu (MDP XXIV 377:19-20) which is used instead of ina qaqqadišu (MDP XXII 1:17-18, cf. p.61, n.2). mubba mabāšu, like qaqqada mabāšu in this context, signifies a literal part of the punishment which is to befall the one who suffers the curse.

.....

All of the other actions are literal and are done to keep the sorceress from practising her craft. This leads to the conclusion that 'striking the head' is also a literal, physical action done for the same reason.

5. MDP XXII 131 (p.142):15-16; XIV 374 (p.65):7; 376 (p.68):16-17; 377 (p.70):18 (all concerning gifts) - OB.

1. p.60, n.4 and p.64, n.5.

2. 2.1.2, p.60. MDP XXII 131 has: (13) a-na me-e li-li-ik-ma (14) i-na pi-i wa-ar-di (the instigator of the tablet) (15) ša-zi mu-ḥa-šu (16) li-im-ḥa-aš. Here the precative lillik occurs rather than the present form of the verb. The other three texts have only part of the clause. The one who disputes: (6) i-la-ak-ma i-na me-e lu-li-/i/ (7) ša-zi mu-ḥa-šu li-/im-ḥa-aš/ (XXIV 374); (15) i-na a-wa-at li (DINGIR) ū šarri (LUGAL) / (X) / (16) li-šī ša-zi mu-ḥa-šu (17) li-im-ḥa-aš (XXIV 376); (17) i-me-e lu-li-/i/ ša-zi (18) mu-ḥa-šu li-/im-ḥa-aš/ (XXIV 377) (the preceding line is broken, so could contain some mention of entering the water).

rēšam nêrum occurs in an OB royal inscription from Ur.<sup>1</sup> Following a break, the text reads: (1) nêr(SAG.GIŠ.RA) (2) rēš(SAG) (3) Uruk(UNUG<sup>ki</sup>) (4) ù Ur(ŠEŠ.UNUG<sup>ki</sup>) (5) išruq(A.MU.RU), 'the striker of the head of Uruk and Ur deposited this' (UM 14936).<sup>2</sup> The probable historical context of the text is known. This tablet apparently refers to Sargon I since another inscription tells of his conquest of Uruk<sup>3</sup> and Ur.<sup>4</sup> It records that he smote (SAG.GIŠ.RA) both cities.<sup>5</sup> Since Sargon retained control of these cities during the rest of his reign,<sup>6</sup> nêr rēšim, when describing his relationship to them, seems to describe something with a longer lasting effect than simply a military victory, although this must be part of the meaning of the phrase. The extended effect is contained in the range of 'to vanquish, subdue', which has also been proposed as the meaning of gaqqada(m) maḥāṣu(m).<sup>7</sup>

1. UM 14936:1-2 in Gadd UET I 6 (pl.II).

2. Ibid. The transliteration of SAG.GIŠ.RA follows ibid., p.3 although, as has been noted above (p. 54 n. 5) the Sumerogram is also equivalent to rāsu. SAG could be either rēšam or gaqqadam, which was read by Gadd.

3. CBS 13972 II:12-28 in PBS V 34 (pl.XX).

4. Ibid., 11.29-40.

5. Ibid., 11.13,37.

6. Ur was recaptured by his successor, Rimuš; cf. ibid., XVII:1-7.

7. "Vanqueur", <sup>'vanquisher'</sup> Sollberger IRSA, p.251. Cf. 1, p.55 and 2.1.1, pp.57-58.

There are also occurrences of nêrum without an object used in similar contexts with the same meaning.<sup>1</sup> This might well be an elision of the body part as the direct object.

4            qaqqada râsu/râšu, 'to strike the head'

The phrase qaqqada râsu occurs only once, in an Amarna letter.<sup>2</sup> Ammunira reports that he has prepared troops and equipment for the king: (31) lu-ú ti-ra-'a<sub>4</sub><sup>3</sup>-as sābā(ERIM.HI) bi-ta-šu (32) ša šarri(LUGAL) ... (33) <sup>uzu</sup>qaqqad(SAG.DU) awilūti(LÚ.MEŠ) a-ia-bi-šu, 'May the forces of the royal household strike the head of his enemies'. The context here is similar to that in which qaqqadam mabāsum/nêrum occur (cf. 2.1.1, pp.57-58 and 3, p.66), where the meaning was established as 'to vanquish, subdue', which also appears to be the meaning here. It has already been noted that râsu was used alone in a similar OB context, with the same meaning.<sup>4</sup> This could well be the elision of qaqqadam as the direct object. If this is the case, the phrase could not be a dialectical variant of qaqqada(m) mabāšu(m)/nêru(m) used only at Amarna, since it would also be used in Dêr.

1. E.g. BM 116455:4 in UET I 9 (pl.II). Cf. also CBS 13972 II:29-40, *passim* in PBS V 34.

2. Bu. 88-10-13, 8:31-33 in Bezold, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum (1892), p.55.

3. This reading 'a<sub>4</sub>' is adopted in AHw., p.959 (sub râsu(m) G 2), rather than the more usual reading ba, which was used in VAB II, p.584, 1.31.

4. Cf. 2.1.1, p.57, and n.1.

D

'To turn (around)'

**פָּנָה** comes from the Proto-Semitic root referring to the face. As a verb it is used for 'to face', as in changing direction. There are no OT occurrences of the verb with the literal head ( **רֹאשׁ** / **קִדְקִד**, etc.) as its object, but it does occur in this grammatical relationship with the face.<sup>1</sup>

**סָבַב** denotes a circle,<sup>2</sup> or a circular movement.<sup>3</sup> The Piel- and Hiphil-<sup>4</sup> stems are transitive, and the verb in both of these stems occurs with the face as the direct object, but not the head itself.

**סָחַר** occupies a different part of this semantic range and, as an intransitive verb, meaning 'to go around'.<sup>5</sup> It is not of relevance here. The Akkadian sabāru(m) shares its range<sup>6</sup> as well as including the transitive 'to turn (around)'.<sup>7</sup> The verb is used with the head (qaggadam) and the face as the direct object.

1. **פָּנָה** does occur three times in the OT with **רֹאשׁ** as its object, i.e. I Sam.13:17-18 (D); Ezek.10:11 (fourth cent. B.C.). In the first passage, **רֹאשׁ** refers to a group of raiders who go out of the Philistine camp: **וַיֵּצֵא הַמִּשְׁחִית מִמַּחֲנֶה פְּלִשְׁתִּים שְׁלֹשָׁה רָאשִׁים וְרֹאשׁ אֶחָד** (17)  
: **פָּנָה אֶל-דֶּרֶךְ עֶפְרָה אֶל-אֶרֶץ שׁוֹעַל**. Cf. VT 19 (1969), p.3.  
In the second passage, **רֹאשׁ** designates the first, or leader in Ezekiel's vision of wheels within wheels: **...כִּי הִמָּקוֹם אֶחָד-וְאֶחָד הָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד יֵלְכוּ וְגו'**.  
In neither passage does **רֹאשׁ** refer to the physical head, so it is not relevant to this study.

2. Aram. **טובבא**

3. E.g. the march around Jericho (Josh.6 passim - D).  
Cf. BDB, pp.685-686 (sub **סָבַב** Qal 2).

4. Ibid., p.686.

5. Cf. BDB, p.695 (sub **סָחַר** ).

6. Cf. "herumgehen", 'to go around', in AHW., p.1005  
(sub sabāru(m) G I).

7. Ibid., pp.1005-1007 (loc.cit., G3, 4 and passim, D).

1 qaqqadam subhurum, 'to turn the head'

qaqqadam subhurum occurs only in an OB letter from Mari.<sup>1</sup>  
In it, the writer tells the king that he is going to another kingdom with organised troops<sup>2</sup>: (r12') ... iš-tu a-na-ku qa-du-um sa-bi-<sup>/im</sup> ka-aš-ri-im<sup>/</sup> (r13') i-na ma-a-tim<sup>ki</sup> a-ka-aš-ša-du šarrum(LUGAL)-ma al-<sup>/XX(?)</sup> (r14') qa-qa-sú a-šar ša-ni ú-ul ú-sa-aḫ-ḫa-<sup>/ar</sup> XX ?, 'After I, with the <sup>/organised</sup> troops, have arrived in the land, I will <sup>/</sup> the king. He will not turn his head towards another place' (ARM II 23).

The broken ends of each line cause difficulty in interpreting qaqqadam subhurum. In 'turning the head' the king would be redirecting his attention from one place to another (ašar šanī). Whether in this text the action means something like 'to send troops to' or even 'to set out towards' a place cannot be determined, although both are acceptable in the context. The lack of parallel occurrences forstalls a definite interpretation.

1. ARM II 23 (pl. XXVII):r.14'. Cf. 48 (pl. LXII):16-19, which concerns the lack of response on the part of some villagers to an order to assemble. The writer instructs the king: (15) lu-be-el ar-nim i-na ne-(pa)-ri-im li-du-ku-m<sup>/a</sup> (16) qa-qa-as-sú li-ik-ki-su-ma (17) bi-ri-it a-la-ni-e ... (19) li-sa-bi-ru, 'May they kill a guilty man in prison, may they cut off his head and take it around between the villages' (ARM II 48). The sign PA is supplied by G.F. Jean in ARMT II, p.102. neparum is the Mari variant (cf. ARMT XV, p.233 [sub neparum]) of nupāru, cf. AHW., p.804 (sub nupāru(m) I). The text could, however, be left unamended, resulting in the guilty person being killed 'by a blow', ina nērim, but this verb is unattested at Mari. In this case the verb in the G-stem is used, and the head is literally taken around in order to instill fear so that the commands would be carried out. The action is not idiomatic.

2. šābim kašrim, l. r.11'.



Both **נָדַד** and **נָדַע** mean 'to move back and forth', the former ranging from slow through rapid oscillations,<sup>1</sup> with the latter used mainly for the faster motions.<sup>2</sup> The head occurs as the direct object of both verbs in their transitive Hiphil-stem. The Akkadian nâšu(m) also has this meaning,<sup>3</sup> and is found with 'head', qaqqadam, as direct object in the transitive D-stem.

kamāmu(m) and itmû(m) mean 'to nod the head'.<sup>4</sup> Since the head is not the explicit direct object of the verbs, they will not be independently discussed here.

1

**נָדַד רֹאשׁ**

**רֹאשׁ** occurs twice in a close grammatical relationship with a form of **נָדַד**, once as an instrumental subordinate to a Hiphil form of the verb, i.e. **יָנִיד בְּרֹאשׁ**,<sup>5</sup> and once in a genitive construction with the related noun **מְנֹדָה**, i.e. **מְנֹדָה-רֹאשׁ**.<sup>6</sup> Both passages are poetic.

1. Cf. BDB, p.626 (sub **נָדַד** Qal); KB, p.600 (sub **נָדַד** qal).

2. Cf. BDB, p.631 (sub **נָדַע**); KB, p.603 (sub **נָדַע**).

3. Cf. AHW., pp.761-762 (sub nâšu(m)).

4. Cf. CAD K, p.102 (sub kamāmu). Note AHW., p.430 (sub kamāmu), "mit den Zähnen knirschen", 'to gnash the teeth', which is given along with "schüttelt sein Haupt", 'he shakes his head'. Cf. also CAD I/J, p.298 (sub itmû); AHW., p.771 (sub nawû(m) II G+?). Cf. VAT 10068+ col. X: 24ff in LTBA II, pl.5:(24) nu-uš qa-q-a-du i-ta-mu-u (25) ka-ša-su " " (26) ka-ma-mu ka-ša-su.

5. Jer.18:16 (late seventh cent. B.C.).

6. Ps.44:15 (possibly pre-exilic - W).

The verbal form occurs in the context of the people forgetting Yahweh and going another way: לְשׁוּם אֲרָצָם לְשִׁמָּה

שָׁרוּקַת עוֹלָם כָּל עוֹבֵר עָלֶיהָ יִשָּׁם וְיִנִּיד בְּרָאשׁוֹ, 'to make their land a waste, an eternal whistling.<sup>1</sup> Every passerby will be appalled and will shake his head' (Jer.18:16). The shock which is felt at the sight of this destruction is apparently indicated by the 'shaking head'.

The second passage concerns the scorn of Israel's neighbours for her: (14) תְּשִׁימֵנוּ וְחִרְפָּה לְשִׁכְנֵינוּ לַעַג וְקִלְקָס

לְסִבִּיבוֹתֵינוּ: (15) תְּשִׁימֵנוּ מִשָּׁל בְּגוֹיִם מְגוֹר־רֹאשׁ בְּלִאָמִים: 'You have made us a disgrace to our neighbours, derision and scorn to those around us. You have made us an example among the nations, a shaking of the head among the peoples' (Ps.44). In this context of mockery and abuse, 'shaking the head' is a sign of scorn.

The verb נָדַד itself in the Qal-stem without an object also occurs in the context of mourning and pity,<sup>2</sup> as well as destruction.<sup>3</sup> Pity is a likely response to the sight of destruction and is another possible interpretation of Jer.18:16. The verb also appears in Ps.69:21 (Davidic) in the context of shame and insults (cf. Ps.44:15 above).<sup>4</sup>

1. Whistling occurs in other cases when people see destruction and are appalled, e.g. I Kings 9:8 (D); Ezek.27:26 (fifth cent. B.C.), and Lam.2:15 (cf. p. 72n.6).

2. Cf. Jer.15:5 (seventh cent. B.C.); 16:5; 22:10 (D); Job 2:11; 42:11 (fifth-third cent. B.C.). Cf. also Job 16:5.

3. Jer.48:17 (seventh cent. B.C.); Nah.3:7 (seventh cent. B.C.).

4. Cf. also נִידָה, Lam.1:8 (sixth cent. B.C.).

These verses apparently have the 'head' implicit as the direct object.

This gesture has two connotations, according to its context, i.e. 'scorn' and 'shock'. In both it could show unbelief, whether genuine (e.g. Jer.18:16) or mocking (e.g. Ps.44:15-16).<sup>1</sup> The lack of further examples of the gestures prevents making more than this general interpretation.

## 2 הניע ראש

הניע ראש occurs six times in poetic passages, in the context of disgrace,<sup>2</sup> the reaction to seeing destruction,<sup>3</sup> scorn,<sup>4</sup> and pity.<sup>5</sup> In each of these contexts, the reaction was to shake the head. The gesture is accompanied by whistles and clapped hands in Lamentations when the passers-by see Jerusalem's ruins.<sup>6</sup> This again suggests the possibility of sympathy for the fate of the city.<sup>7</sup>

When the Psalmist is scorned, the people show their scorn through their actions: (8) כָּל-רֹאֵי יִלְעָגוּ לִי וַיִּמָּטְרוּ בִשְׂפָה (8) :לִנְיַעַר רֹאשׁ: 'All who see me mock me, they stick out the lip and shake the head' (Ps.22). The context indicates that the

1. Cf. M. Dahood, Psalms I:1-50 (1965, rep.1974), p.264, "laughing stock".

2. הָרָפָה - Ps.109:25 (Davidic).

3. Lam.2:15 (sixth cent. B.C.).

4. לָעַג - Ps.22:8 (Davidic); לָעַג, בּוֹז - II Kings 19:21, par. Isa.37:22 (D).

5. Job 16:4 (fifth-third cent. B.C.).

6. סָפְקוּ עָלֶיךָ כַּפַּיִם כָּל-עֹבְרֵי דֶרֶךְ שָׁרְקוּ וַיִּנְיַעוּ רֹאשָׁם וּגְו' 'All who pass down the way clap their hands at you, they whistle and shake their heads' (Lam.2:15). Cf. p.71, n.1.

7. Cf. also the false sympathy of Job16:4, which has the form :וַאֲנִיָּעָה עָלֵיכֶם בְּמִו רֹאשִׁי: This makes explicit the reflexive character of the action, its instrument and its target.

two physical actions are an epexegetical explanation of the mockery shown. The two other passages in which the action occurs in this context show that this scorn was not always shown directly to the person but sometimes was done slyly.<sup>1</sup>

### 3 gaqqada nâšu

The Akkadian gaqqada nâšu in the D-stem occurs in a medical text which deals with ailments of the head,<sup>2</sup> and in two literary texts.<sup>3</sup>

3.1 In Enuma eliš, when Anu found he could not defeat Tiamat: (86) uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma <sup>d</sup>Aššur(ŠĀR) qaq-qa-ri i-na-at-t/a-al (87) i-kam-ma-am a-na <sup>d</sup>É-a ú-na-ši gaqqas(SAG.DU)-/su/, 'Aššur was mortified, he looked at the ground; he nodded to Ea, he shook his head' (Ee II). The gesture occurs in a context of fear brought about by the realisation that none could face Tiamat. It is an epexegetis of the previous verb, and is apparently an indication of this feeling of fear.

3.2 In the other text, Kummâ went into the underworld and was overwhelmed by Nergal's radiance: (54) ... i-na-ta-al-an-ni-ma

1. : אַחֲרֵיהֶן רָאשׁ הִנִּיעָה בֶּת זְרוּשֶׁלַם 'she shook the head behind you, daughter of Jerusalem' (II Kings 19:21, par. Isa.37:33).
2. MLC 2639:24' in JCS 2 (1948), p.305 - NB. Cf. p.64 , n.2. Due to the accompanying literal, physical symptoms, the 'shaking head' must also be literal.
3. VAT 10057:54 ('Vision of the Nether World') in ZA 43 (1936), pl.III-IV - NA; Enuma eliš II 87 in Lambert and Parker, Enuma Elish (1966), p.12 - NA.

ú-na-a-šá qaqqas(SAG.DU)-su (55) /ri-q/ím-šú ú-dan-nin-am-ma  
 ... ez-zi-iš e-li-ia i-ša-as-si, 'He looked at me and he  
 shook his head. He shouted loudly ... roaring at me in  
 anger' (VAT 10057).<sup>1</sup> Here the context of wrath suggests  
 that this gesture expresses anger in some way. Neither  
 text provides enough information to show if the gesture  
 was more than a reflexive reponse to these two strong emotions.

F 'to seize, hold'

פִּיץ, in the Qal-stem, is a stative (Züstand) verb  
 meaning 'to be strong or firm'.<sup>2</sup> The causative 'to strengthen'  
 is expressed by the Piel-,<sup>3</sup> and several times by the Hiphil-,<sup>4</sup>  
 stems. The semantic range of the Hiphil-stems has also  
 extended to include 'seizing'.<sup>5</sup> In this stem, the verb  
 occurs with the head ( רֹאשׁ ) as its object.<sup>6</sup>

kullu(m) also means 'to hold' in the sense of grasping,<sup>7</sup>  
 in which it is used with the head and the parts as object, as  
 well as in the sense of 'to contain'.<sup>8</sup> Its range also includes

1. ZA 43 (1936), pl. III - IV.

2. Cf. BDB, p.304 (sub פִּיץ Qal I); KB<sup>3</sup>, pp.290-291 (sub  
פִּיץ qal). The head is the object of פִּיץ in the Qal  
 stem in II Sam.18:9 (D) in describing Absalom's head being  
 caught ( פִּיץ ) in a tree, which does not involve an action  
 on the part of another and so is not relevant here.

3. Cf. BDB (loc.cit. Pi.); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.291 (loc.cit. pi.).

4. Cf. BDB, pp.304-305 (loc.cit. Hiph. 1-4); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.291  
 (loc.cit. hif 3).

5. Cf. BDB, p.305 (loc.cit. 6); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.291 (loc.cit. 1,2).

6. II Sam.2:16 (D). This is in the context of a contest  
 between the followers of Joab and Abner: וַיִּזְחֲקוּ אִישׁ בְּרֹאשׁ  
וַיִּקְרְבוּ בְּצַד רֶעֱהוּ וַיִּפְּלוּ זֶה עַל זֶה, 'Each man seized  
 the head of his opponent with his sword in his opponent's  
 side. They fell together'. The head was seized here that  
 the enemy might be killed, and is therefore literal, with  
 no apparent symbolism and so does not contribute to this  
 work.

7. Cf. CAD K, pp.508-511 (sub kullu 1); AHW., p.502

other related meanings such as 'to exercise control' and 'to uphold (laws)'.<sup>1</sup>

The semantic range of ṣabātu(m) also contains seizure,<sup>2</sup> as well as containing,<sup>3</sup> with other related meanings.<sup>4</sup> The head and its parts occur as object of this verb.

Several other verbs include seizing or holding in their semantic range,<sup>5</sup> but none are used with the head or some part of the head as an object and so are not relevant here.

1 kullu(m), 'to hold'

1.1 rēša(m) kullu(m), 'to hold the head'

rēša(m) kullu(m) occurs in several different contexts including mathematical computations,<sup>6</sup> the collection and preparation of various things,<sup>7</sup> and in greetings formulae.<sup>8</sup>

.....

(sub kullu(m) II 1-4).

8. Cf. CAD K, pp.511-512 (loc.cit. 2); AHW., p.503 (loc.cit. 8).

1. Cf. CAD K, pp.512-516 (loc.cit., 3-4).

2. Cf. e.g. CAD Ṣ, pp.5-21 (sub ṣabātu 1-4), pp.23-24 (loc.cit.7), AHW., pp.1066-1071 (sub ṣabātu(m) I, II and passim).

3. Cf. CAD Ṣ, pp.22-23 (loc.cit. 6), AHW., p.1067 (loc.cit. III 9, 10).

4. Cf. e.g. CAD Ṣ, p.5, AHW., pp.1067-1071 (loc.cit. III 7 and passim).

5. E.g. 𒌦 and the Akkadian abāzu(m), as well as 𒌦.

6. IM 52301:5-6, 23-24 in Sumer 6 (1950), pl.1 following p.148. Cf. AOS 29, p.167 (sub kul), and other examples in IMB, p.219 (sub kul) - all OB.

7. E.g. BM 80816:7 in CT XXIX, pl.40; ARM I 37 (pl.L):17 - OB; K.1366:13-17 in ABL 633 (pl.684) - NA, and others in CAD K, pp.516-517 (sub kullu 5 f 1').

8. E.g. VAT 703:7-8 in VAS XVI 1 (pl.1). Cf. StOr XXXVIII (1967), pp.31-32 for further examples.

1.1.1 As one stage of computation in some OB mathematical texts,<sup>1</sup> the writer instructs, regarding a number x: rēška likīl. Later in the same computation, he then calls for the use of the number x: ša rēška ukālu,<sup>2</sup> in further computation. The idiomatic 'to be ready' is possible here and has been listed by the dictionaries, who apparently interpret the number x as the subject of the clause.<sup>3</sup> A reading of rēšum as the object in this context, which is also possible since there are no case-endings due to the suffix, gives the non-idiomatic: 'may your head hold' the number x. In the context, this is an instruction to memorize or remember the number in order to use it at a later time in the computation. Since the phrase is unambiguous if understood literally, there is no need to suppose that it is used idiomatically in this context, even though the idiomatic usage cannot be definitely ruled out (cf. 1.1.2, pp. 76 - 78). In later texts, no such formula for remember<sup>ing</sup> a number is used, rather the number is simply given and then used subsequently in a further stage of the computation.<sup>4</sup>

1.1.2 Several texts employ rēša(m) kullu(m) in the context of collection and preparation of something.<sup>5</sup> A typical example

1. Cf. p.75, n.6.

2. IM 52301:r.6 - r.7, Sumer 6 (1950), pl.1 following p.148, and IMB, p.219 (sub kwl).

3. "bereitstehen", 'to be ready', in AHW., p.503 (sub kullu II 12 b). Cf. also "let x wait for you", in CAD K, p.517 (sub kullu 5 f 3'). Also cf. 2.1.2, p. 81.

4. E.g. the Seleucid text AO 6484:4-6 in TCL VI 33 (pl. LXI).

5. Examples of grain, sheep, silver, dates, troops, etc. are listed in the dictionaries. Most are OB but some are later.

is an OB letter concerning silver in which the recipient is told: (6) kasap (KÙ.BABBAR)-ka si-mi-id-ma (7) re-ša-am li-ki-il, 'Prepare your silver! May it hold the head' (BM 80816).<sup>1</sup> The recipient is told to bring the silver to Babylon upon the arrival of another letter (11.8-12).

This phrase is clearly idiomatic since an inanimate object is the subject of the active verb. A.L. Oppenheim translated rēšam likīl here as "let (it) remain (there) to be disposed of",<sup>2</sup> and R. Frankena as "damit es bereit ist",<sup>3</sup> 'so it is ready'. This preparation in anticipation of an imminent order to dispatch the goods is what is conveyed by this text.

I would suggest that in all of these instances a satisfactory interpretation of rēša(m) kullu(m) is 'to wait in expectation of something happening'.<sup>4</sup> The person, or event, waited for is often denoted by the genitive with the construct of rēša(m). For example, in a Mari letter to Šamši-Adad, Yasmah-Adad wrote that he was in Qatunan:

(13) a-di be-li (14) a-na Šu-ba-at <sup>d</sup>En-lil<sup>ki</sup> (15) i-ka-aš-ša-  
/d/a-am (16) i-na Qa-at-tu-na-an<sup>ki</sup> (17) re-eš be-li-ia  
ú-ka-/al/, 'Until my lord arrives at Šubat-Enlil I am ready

1. CT XXIX, pl.40.

2. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.255.

3. AbB II, p.111.

4. Cf. "to wait for, to be at the disposal of" in CAD K, p.516 (sub kullu 5 f 1'); "zur Verfügung stehen", 'to be available', "bereitstehen", 'to be ready' in AHW., p.503 (sub kullu(m) II D 12 a, b). Cf. also G. Dossin, ARM I, p.42 and J.R. Kupper, ARM VI, p.79 who translate the idiom as "être prêt", 'to be ready', and G. Dossin, op.cit., p.53, ll.38,41, by "attendre", 'to wait for'.



and waiting for (i.e. holding the head of) my lord' (ARM I 37). Šamši-Adad instructed him not to wait for him in Qatunan (rēšī la tukāl)<sup>1</sup> but to proceed elsewhere. The interpretation of rēša(m) kullu(m) as 'to be held ready for immediate use' is supported by this and similar examples.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ll.31-32. Here the person waited for is denoted by the pronominal suffix added to rēš. Cf. also AO 3959:23 in Thureau-Dangin TCL I, 35 (pl.XXII) and in CAD K, pp. 516-517 (sub kullu 5 f). Further examples of this genitive construction are: e.g. ARM I 17 (pl.XXIII): 41-42; II 80 (pl. XCVIII):13-15, VAT 7796:1b-17 in VAS XVI 104 (pl.43) and in CAD K, loc.cit. In CAD K, p.517 (sub kullu 5 f 1' d') a different interpretation is given for K.1366:13-14 in ABL 633, (p.684) which reads: (13) ... šemer(HAR) burāši(GUŠKIN) patar(GIR) burāši(GUŠKIN) subāt(TUG) ša ši-il-li (14) rēš(SAG) Assur-zēr(NUMUN)-ipuš(DU) u-ka-la translated "they are holding a golden ring, a golden dagger and an umbrella for PN". This could be seen as a metaphorical transfer of rēšum from designating the part of the body to designating the person as a whole (synecdoche), which is then metaphorically transferred to inanimate objects. The phrase rēša kullu could then be interpreted literally as 'to hold the thing (until the need for it arose)'. The genitival constructions, however, show that this cannot be the correct interpretation. In the Mari example quoted, grammatically it is the head of the king (bēliā) which is held, as it is the head of Aššur-zēr-ipuš in this text rather than the objects.
2. P. Koschaker in Bürgerschaftsrecht, p.11, and E. Dhorme in L'emploi, p.21 posited yet another interpretation for rēša(m) kullu(m) when it is used in the context of an OB grain loan, e.g. CBM 1522:14 in BE VI/I 103 (pl.63). Warad-Sîn had accepted a loan of 60 GUR of grain, i.e., (1) aššum 60 še GUR ... (5) Arad(IR) Sîn(XXX) ... (6) ana qiptim ilqû, but the king subsequently declared a moratorium of loans, i.e., (7) u šar/rum /m/ iššaram iškunuma. The two creditors, wanting the grain returned, came to Warad-Sîn and said: (13) še-um ša ni-id-di-na-ak-kum (14) re-ša-am li-ki-il, 'May the grain which we gave to you hold the head'. This idiomatic phrase was translated by Koschaker, op.cit., as "du bist für uns verantwortlich", 'you are responsible to us' and by Dhorme, op.cit., as "servir de cautionnement", 'to serve as a guarantor'. Since it was Warad-Sîn who received the loan, and no one else is mentioned as a guarantor, or as assuming responsibility for it, the responsibility would necessarily rest upon the debtor. Instead of proposing these technical meanings for rēša(m) kullu(m), the previously mentioned 'to hold ready at the disposal' of the creditors is satisfactory in this context, since the creditors would be demanding the preparation of the grain pending the immediate recall of the loan.

1.1.3 Several sources also assign to rēša(m) kullu(m) the additional meaning of 'to provide'.<sup>1</sup> In one of the common occurrences of the idiom in greetings formulae from the OB period, after asking that life and peace be granted, the writer adds: (7) ilum(DINGIR) na-sir-ki re-eš-ki a-na da-mi-iq-ti (8) li-ki-il, 'may the god, your guard, hold your head for good' (VAT 703).<sup>2</sup> This could equally well be understood as 'provide you with good',<sup>3</sup> or as 'have good ready at your disposal'.<sup>4</sup> Both are part of the same semantic range of readying something for use and actually giving it to be used. There is thus no need to posit a number of "homonymous idioms"<sup>5</sup> of rēša(m) kullu(m) when one interpretation satisfactorily explains all of these uses.

1. E.g. CAD K, p.517 (loc.cit. 2'); "to procure (give)" in 'Idiomatic Accadian', pp.254-255; "Versorgen", 'to provide' in AHW., p.503 (loc.cit., 12 c).

2. VAS XVI 1 (pl.1).

3. Cf. "dem Empfänger alles Gute verleihe", 'grant the recipient all good' in StOr XXXVIII (1907), p.31. Cf. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.255, "may hold your head = may be yours".

4. Cf. "zur Verfügung stehen", 'to be at the disposal', in AbB 6, p.3.

5. Cf. 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.254.

2.1            qaqqada(m) kullu(m), 'to hold the head'

qaqqada(m) kullu(m) occurs in OB economic texts,<sup>1</sup> and  
an OB letter.<sup>2</sup>

2.1.1 In three OB texts, qaqqada(m) kullu(m) concerns  
payments of rent,<sup>3</sup> a loan,<sup>4</sup> or wages.<sup>5</sup> The phrase occurs  
towards the end of each text, immediately prior to the  
witnesses and date, and following the amount which is to  
be paid. Each records, of a party previously unmentioned  
in the text<sup>6</sup>: (ana) qaqqasu ... ukâl,<sup>7</sup> '... holds his  
head', or: ... mukîl qaqqadišu,<sup>8</sup> '... is the holder of his  
head. qaqqada(m) is ambiguous in these texts since it  
could stand either for the physical head or for 'capital'.<sup>9</sup>  
The latter is the most straightforward interpretation since  
it allows for a literal translation of the phrase as '...  
held his capital' which is understandable in this context

1. Gautier Dilbat XLV (p.83):r4-5;LI (p.88):r2-3;VAT 651:6 in  
Meissner BAP 61 (pl.29).

2. ARM II 39 '(pl.LI):56.

3. Gautier Dilbat XLV:6 , agâru(IN.HUN).

4. Ibid. LI:6.

5. VAT 651:6 in Meissner BAP 61, kisru.

6. Two are people and one is Ninurta.

7. Gautier Dilbat XLV:r.4-5 and LI:r.2-3. The latter  
does not have ana. In the gap (...), a name is given.

8. VAT 651:10-11, Meissner BAP 61. In the gap (...) the  
person is named.

9. Cf. A, p.10. The latter interpretation is adopted  
by Gautier, op.cit., pp.83 and 88.

as meaning 'to guarantee the capital'.<sup>1</sup> Even if the phrase is an idiom, with qaqqada(m) referring to the literal head, the meaning would be similar to 'to guarantee' in this context.<sup>2</sup>

2.1.2 qaqqadam kullum occurs in a Mari letter. Yašim-El was chided for withdrawing troops which had previously been promised to another ruler, Haqbu-hammu, for his defence. Yašim-El writes to Zimrilim: (54) ... aš-šum ša be-lí (55) ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi ša i-qa-ab-bi-kum te-pé-eš (56) aš-šum ki-a-am a-na a-wa-tim qa-qa-di ú-ka-al-šu, 'Because my lord wrote this to me: "What he says to you, do!", because of that, I will hold my head for the word' (ARM II 39).

This has been variously interpreted. C.F. Jean translated part of the passage as an idiom: "pour l'affaire je me fie à lui", 'I put my confidence in him concerning the matter'.<sup>3</sup> From this it appears that he understood -šu ('lui', 1.56) as referring to Haqbu-hammu. Grammatically, however, this is not the case since -šu must refer either to qaqqadi, i.e. 'my head, I will hold it',<sup>4</sup> or to ana

1. Cf. M. Schorr's review of J.É. Gautier, op.cit., in the Vienna Oriental Journal XXIV (1910), p.335 where he interprets Gautier Dilbat LI:r.2-3 as "bürgt für den Schuldner", 'he stands surety for the debtor'. Cf. also Koschaker Bürgschaft srecht, p.2 and CAD K, p.516 (sub kullu 5 e 2'), "he guarantees for him". Gautier himself (op.cit., pp.83,88) translates the phrase "le capital ... (en) jouira", '... enjoys the capital', which does not seem appropriate since these people are not mentioned elsewhere in the text, least of all that they were the ones who benefited from the transaction. B. Meissner in BAP, p.138, on VAT 651:10-11, interpreted the participial form of the phrase as designating "ein Beschützer", 'a protector' and translated qaqqada(m) as "Haupt", 'head', in ibid., p.55.

awatim, which would necessitate an idiomatic meaning for qaqqadam kullum. Finet translated the clause "il défend mes interets (?)",<sup>1</sup> which is similar to the "Beschützer" of Meissner.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear who the subject of the clause would be in this case, since Zimrilim had ordered Yašim-El to obey Haqba-hammu (1.55), who would not be supporting ('schützen') Yašim-El, but was rather opposing him by sending a complaining letter to Zimrilim. CAD translates as "I am waiting (?) for the order (of my lord)".<sup>3</sup> This also leaves difficulties since it appears from the context that the order to obey Haqba-hammu had already been given (1.55). If so, the phrase could denote some response to the command of the king, such as 'to obey'. The paucity of occurrences, however, makes any definite interpretation of the phrase in this context as yet only conjecture.

.....

2. CAD, K, p.516 (loc.cit., 5 e 2'), includes the occurrence of the phrase in IM 51312:10-11 in Sumer XIV (1958), 4 (pl.4) as possibly having this meaning. The context is broken, and the text itself((9) 2 rēdū(UKU.UŠ) i-nam-/XX/ (10) qa-qa-di-šū-nu lu ū-ka-al/ (11) ū qa-qa-di lu u-k/a-lu/) is not economic, as were the other texts cited. Goetze (ibid., p.21) interpreted the idiom as meaning "to stand for", presumably with the idea of representation, which is included in the meaning of 'to guarantee', but since the tablet is broken, not enough of the context remains to determine the exact meaning of the idiom.

3. ARMT II, p.89, 1.56.

4. The subject of the verb could also be 'he'.

1. ARMT XV, p.246 (sub qaqqadam 1).

2. Cf. p.81, n.1.

3. K, p.516 (sub kullu 5 e 1').

G 'to cover, hide'

כָּסָה is used, mainly in the Qal-stem, with the meaning of 'to overlay' which includes in its range the idea of hiding.<sup>1</sup> It is used of parts of the head. The Akkadian kašû(m), also meaning 'to cover',<sup>2</sup> is not used with a part of the body as its object.

חָפָה shares the same semantic range as the more common כָּסָה and, in the Qal-stem,<sup>3</sup> is used also of the head.

סָתַר occurs in the Hiphil-stem as the transitive verb 'to hide'.<sup>4</sup> It is not used of the head itself, but with designated parts of the head as the object.

כָּפַר is used in the Piel-stem mainly in the context of wrongdoing with the idea of 'covering over' so as not to be punished.<sup>5</sup> It is also used of parts of the head, i.e., פָּנִים, but not of the head itself.

לָוַט is rare in the OT<sup>6</sup> but where found, it appears to mean 'wrap' or 'hide'.<sup>7</sup> The face, but not of the head itself, occurs as object of the verb.

1. Cf. BDB, pp.491-492 (sub כָּסָה); KB<sup>3</sup>, pp.464-465 (sub כסה).

2. Cf. CAD K, p.294 (sub kašû A); AHW, p.463 (sub kašû(m) I), which attributes to it a West-semitic etymology.

3. Cf. BDB, pp.341-342 (sub חָפָה); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.325 (sub חפה).

4. Cf. BDB, p.711 (sub סָתַר); KB, p.669 (sub סתר).

5. Cf. BDB, pp.497-498 (sub כָּפַר pi. 2ff); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.470 (sub כפר pi. 1 dff).

6. II Sam.19:5 (D); I Kings 19:13 (D); Isa.21:10; 27:7 (eighth cent. B.C., red. third cent. B.C.).

7. In I Sam.21:10 (D), Goliath's sword is said to be behind the ephod: לִוְטָה בְּשֵׁמֶלָה.... In Isa.25:7 (eighth cent. B.C., red. third cent. B.C.), the verb is parallel to לָוַט, 'a veil, to veil'. Cf. BDB, p.532 (sub לָוַט); KB<sup>3</sup>, p.497 (sub לוט).

katāmu(m), 'to cover, conceal, overwhelm', includes the same semantic range as כָּסָה.<sup>1</sup> It is used of the head as well as its parts.

arāmu(m) also means 'to cover over, envelope', and is used of parts of the head, as in pāna(m) arāmu(m).<sup>2</sup>

kullulu(m) is related to the kulūlu-headdress and itself means 'to cover, veil' (with this headdress).<sup>3</sup> Here reference is often to the 'face' while the 'head' is not explicitly stated to be the object.

Several other verbs include 'covering' in their semantic range but are here omitted as making no direct contribution to this study.<sup>4</sup>

1 כָּסָה רֹאשׁ , 'to cover the head'

This phrase is found only in one prophetic passage, which tells of the innumerable enemies coming against Zion. The prophet describes those as drunk and staggering even though they have not used intoxicants: כִּי-נָסַח עֲלֵיכֶם יְהוָה

וְרָחַם בְּיָדָאָהּ אֶת-עֵינֵיכֶם אֶת-הַנְּבִיאִים וְאֶת-רֹאשֵׁיכֶם הַחֲזִים כָּסָה:  
'For Yahweh has poured a spirit of sleep upon you, and has closed your eyes, you prophets, and your heads, you visionaries, he has covered' (Isa.29:10).<sup>5</sup> The visions are then compared

1. Cf. CAD K, pp.298-303 (sub katāmu); AHw., pp.464-465 (sub katāmu(m)). Cf. MAH 15850+:538 transliterated in Landsberger and Civil MSL IX, pp.134-135:(538) U + TUG(du-ul) ka-ta-mu (539) a-ra-mu (540) pu-su-mu (541) ur-ru-mu, which are several verbs meaning 'to cover, veil'.

2. Cf. CAD AII, pp.228-230 (sub arāmu).

3. Cf. CAD K, pp.518-519 (sub kullulu); AHw., p.503 (sub kullulu I and II).

4. E.g. edēbu, ḥalāpu, ṣapānu, צָפַן .

5. Eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.

to a sealed book which cannot be read because of its seal.

Even though this clause is unique in the OT, it is possible to make several observations about it. The object of the phrase, חֲזִים , has the same function, syntactically as well as semantically, as the object of the proceeding verbal phrase, נִבְיָאִים .<sup>1</sup> Since these two halves of each phrase have the same meaning, it is probable that this is an example of synonymous parallelism, which is common in Hebrew poetry.<sup>2</sup> In that case, since the idiom

עָצַם עֵינָיִם has the same syntactical function as כָּסָה רֹאשׁ it probably has the same meaning, or at least shares its semantic range with עָצַם עֵינָיִם . The meaning of both is shown in the following verse, in which Yahweh is closing the eyes and covering the head in order that the prophets and seers will not be able to understand what visions they receive.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the phrases כָּסָה רֹאשׁ and עָצַם עֵינָיִם would mean 'to withhold understanding' when used in this context of Yahweh's revelation. These both are comparing the actual outer eye which can be covered to prevent seeing, to the inner eye of understanding which can be metaphorically covered to forbid understanding.

1. Cf. II Sam.24:11 (D) where a נְבִיא is called a חֲזִה , and II Kings 17:13 (D) where the two also occur together.

2. This assumption is strengthened by the occurrence of synonymous parallelism in the previous verse ( שָׁכַח וְלֹא-עָקַר וְלֹא-נָעַר וְלֹא-עָקַר ).

3. It is not to say that visions are not received but that they are not understood, just as the book was given but it was not readable. This would be contra A.S. Herbert, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters 1-39 (1973), p. 168, who said that the divine word was to be understood as being withheld completely.



חִפָּה רֹאשׁ occurs five times in three OT passages.<sup>1</sup>

In the earliest, the plight of Judah during a drought is described: (3) וְאַדְרִיָּהוּם שָׁלַח צִעֲרֵיהֶם לַמַּיִם בָּאֵר עַל-גִּבֵּים לֹא-מָצְאוּ

מֵיִם שָׁבוּ כְּלִיָּהֶם רִיקָם בָּשׂוּ וְהִכְלִמוּ וְחִפּוּ רֹאשָׁם: (4) בַּעֲבוּר הָאֲדָמָה חִפָּה

כִּי לֹא-הָיָה גֶשֶׁם בָּאָרֶץ בָּשׂוּ אֶמְרֵיהֶם חִפּוּ רֹאשָׁם:

'Your great ones send their servants for water. They come to the cisterns; they do not find water. They are ashamed and humiliated and cover their heads. Because of the ground, dismayed because of the lack of rain in the land, the farmers are ashamed, they covered their heads' (Jer.14).

The context indicates that covering the head is a sign of shame. The phrase is also used of people weeping and sorrowing in the other two passages.<sup>2</sup> The action is commonly interpreted as a sign of grief.<sup>3</sup> This does not take into account, however, the use in the context of shame, unless shame produced grief. It is possible that the two emotions were viewed as the same, or it could be that they were both shown by the same outward sign even though they were in fact different. It is not possible to determine this precisely from the limited texts.

1. II Sam.15:30 (D) - twice; Jer.14:3,4 (sixth cent. B.C.); Esth.6:12 (early second cent. B.C.).

2. As David fled from Absalom he went up the Mount of Olives: עָלָה וּבִוְכָה וְרֹאשׁ לֹו כִּפּוּי וְהוּא עָלָה יָחַף וְכָל-קָצָם אֲשֶׁר-אִתּוֹ חִפּוּ עָלָה וּבִוְכָה וְרֹאשׁוֹ וְעָלָה עָלָה וּבִוְכָה: '... going up and weeping; his head was covered, and he was barefoot. Each of the people who were with him covered his own head and went up, going up and weeping' (II Sam.15:30). Also when Ahasuerus instructed Haman to honour Mordechai, whom he had been planning to kill: וְהָמָן נִדְחָף אֶל-בֵּיתוֹ אֲבֵל וְחִפּוּי רֹאשׁ '... and Haman hurried to his house, mourning and with his head covered' (Esth.6:12). The Jeremiah passage is also in the greater context of mourning (v.2).

3            qaqqada(m) katāmu(m), 'to cover the head'

qaqqada(m) katāmu(m) occurs in the context of incantation and other rituals,<sup>1</sup> prayers<sup>2</sup> and letters.<sup>3</sup>

3.1 qaqqadam katāmum occurs in two Mari letters written by the same woman, Inib-šarrim to Zimrilim.<sup>4</sup> In one, Zimrilim is reported to have commanded: (4) al-ki bīti(E)-ki šu-ta-aš-bi-ti-ma (5) šum-ma ū-ul ri-it-tum qa-qa-ad-ki (6) ku-ut-mi-ma at-la-ki-im, 'Go! Gather<sup>5</sup> your household! If it is not possible, cover your head

.....

3. H.W. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, 2nd ed. Transl. J. Bowden (1964, rep. 1974), p. 343; H.P. Smith, Samuel (1904), p. 345-346; S.R. Driver, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah (1908), p. 82; L.E. Binns, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah (1919), p. 122; L.B. Paton, Esther (1908), p. 255; C.A. Moore, Esther (1971), p. 66. Moore, *ibid.*, and Paton, *op.cit.*, have also been pointed out, referring to Curtius IV, 10; X, 5, that this was also a sign of mourning among the Persians.

1. K. 3169+:35 in CT XVII pl. 19 - NA; MLC 1872:21 (par. 1.44) in BRM IV 6 (pl. 4 & 5) - Sel. In the latter, performed in the case of an eclipse: (20) ... nišē(UKU.MEŠ) māti(KUR) su-bat qaqqadi(SAG.DU)-šū-nu šabtu(ŠA.GU<sub>4</sub>.TU) ina lu-bar-ru-šū-nu qaqqas(SAG.DU)-su-nu kāt-mu, 'the head-clothes of the people of the land are removed; their heads are covered with their clothes' (MLC 1872). Here the action of covering the head must be literal, because the headcovering is to be removed before it is done. The meaning of the gesture is not apparent from this text. In K. 3169+:35, *op.cit.*, the head is also to be covered with a garment (šabātu) prior to the ritual.

2. VAT 246:50 in SBH I (pl. 131). Cf. VAT 321+:17 in *ibid.* 40 (pl. 72) - Sel.

3. ARM II 113 (pl. CXXX):5-6 and X 76 (pl. 33):8-9 - OB.

4. ARM II 113 and X 76.

5. So CAD S, p. 39 (sub šabātu 12 a 3' a'). The verb is ambiguous, with a number of meanings.

and come to me!' (ARM II 113). G. Finet,<sup>1</sup> and C.-F. Jean,<sup>2</sup> translate the clause literally, which is understandable in this context, as a preparation for travel. The significance of veiling, beyond the literal action which is not the direct concern of this thesis, is not discernible from these texts.

3.2 In a bilingual prayer, the writer asks Enlil the observor: (49) ... i-na-a-ka a-di ma-ti la i-na-ba  
 (50) ... ša qaq-qa-ad-ka su-bat tu-kat-ti-mu /a-di ma-ti/<sup>3</sup>  
 (51) ... ki-šad-ka ana su-ni-ka taš-ku-na /adi ma-ti/<sup>3</sup>  
 (52) ... lib-ba-ka kīma(GIM) pi-sa-an-nu tak-tu-ma /a-di ma-ti/, 'How long will your eyes not become weary? /How long/, you who cover your head with garments; /how long/ will you lay your neck on your lap; /how long/ will you cover your heart like a box?' (VAT 246).<sup>4</sup>

In this prayer for aid, qaqqada katāmu is used in the context of other actions which appear to relate to not answering the prayer and providing aid. Just as the heart is covered like a box so no help can come forth, and as the head is placed on the lap, apparently to keep from seeing

1. ARMT XV, p.213 (sub katāmum).

2. ARMT II, p.193, 1.6.

3. Proposed by P. Jensen in KB VI/II, p.84.

4. SBH I (pl.131). Cf. also VAT 321+:17 in SBH 40 (pl.72) where the head is also covered by a garment.

and being aware of the need, so the head is covered, possibly also to keep from seeing. This would be a metaphorical transfer from the physical blindness caused by blind-folding to the metaphorical blindness of the god who does not wish to help. These could also simply be the physical actions accompanying sleep, and so be strictly literal. The result of both interpretations is the same since the sleeping god, as well as the blindfolded god, would not be aware of the plight of the petitioner.

Chapter IIIThe Face

A The cognates פָּנִים : pānum (IGI) come from the Proto-Semitic word for 'face'.<sup>1</sup> They both are metaphorically extended to denote the front part of things other than the physical head,<sup>2</sup> and also develop prepositional and adverbial uses.<sup>3</sup> pānum also extended to include in its semantic range the 'beginning' of a span of time.<sup>4</sup>

būnum shares part of this range since it also means 'face', especially as regards its features or outward appearance.<sup>5</sup> It is also extended to include the appearance of inanimate objects,<sup>6</sup> and also is used prepositionally.<sup>7</sup>

B 'to raise, carry the face'<sup>8</sup>

1 A form of פָּנִים נָשָׂא occurs twenty-eight times in the OT, in legal contexts,<sup>9</sup> as well as those concerning

1. Cf. BDB, pp.815-816 (sub פָּנִים and [פָּנִים] I 1-4); KB p.766 (sub פָּנִים 1-2, 6, cf. 7); AHw., pp.818-820 (sub pānu(m) I A passim); Holma Körperteile, p.13; L'emploi, pp.42-43.

2. Cf. BDB, p.816 (loc.cit. I 5); KB, p.766 (loc.cit., 3-5); AHw., loc.cit.

3. Cf. BDB, pp.816-819 (loc.cit., I 6, II); KB, p.767 (loc.cit., 9-15), AHw., pp.820-822 (loc.cit., C).

4. Cf. AHw., p.820 (loc.cit., B).

5. Cf. CAD B, pp.320-321 (sub būnu A 1); AHw., p.138 (sub būnu(m) II passim); Holma Körperteile, p.2; L'emploi, p.52.

6. Cf. CAD B, pp.321-322 (loc.cit., 2); AHw., p.138 (loc.cit., 1 c d)

7. Cf. CAD B, p.322 (loc.cit. 3).

8. Cf. Chapter II B, pp.11-13 for the verbs examined.

9. Lev.19:15 (H); Deut.10:17 (D); Mal.2:9 (fourth cent.B.C.); Ps.82:2 (pre-exilic); Job 13:8,10; 32:21 (fifth cent. - third cent. B.C.); Prov.6:35 (post-exilic); 18:5 (pre-exilic); II Chr.19:7 (third cent. B.C.).

requests,<sup>1</sup> and other favourable personal relationships or states.<sup>2</sup> It is also used as a personal epithet,<sup>3</sup> and once in an historical narrative.<sup>4</sup>

1.1 When used in legal contexts,<sup>5</sup> the action signified by **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** is always condemned. This is explicit in Prov.18:5: **שָׂאת פָּנֵי-רָשָׁע לֹא-טוֹב לְהַטּוֹת צַדִּיק בְּמִשְׁפָּט** 'Raising the face of the wicked is not good, to pervert a righteous person in judgement'. As well as condemning the action, the author places it in a context of an unacceptable legal practice, i.e., perverting justice. In three other verses **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** is also accompanied by taking bribes, which again would serve as a perversion

1. Gen.19:21 (J); I Sam.25:35 (D); Mal.1:8,9 (fourth cent. B.C.); Job 42:8,9 (fifth cent. - third cent. B.C.).

2. Gen.32:21 (J); Num.6:26 (P); Deut.28:50 (D); II Sam.2:22 (D); Job 11:15; 22:26 (fifth - third cent. B.C.); Lam.4:16 (sixth cent. B.C.).

3. II Kings 5:1 (D); Isa.3:3; 9:14 (post-exilic); Job 22:8 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

4. II Kings 9:32 (D). In this Jehu, returning from a battle, saw Jezebel looking out of the window at him: **וַיֵּשָׂא פָּנָיו (32) אֶל-הַחַלּוֹן וַיֹּאמֶר מִי אִתִּי מִי וַיִּשְׁקִיפוּ אֵלָיו שְׁנֵים עָלְפָה סְרִיסִים: (33) וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמַטְהוּ וַיִּשְׁמָטוּהָ וְגו'** 'He raised his face towards the window and said, "Who is with me? Who?". Two or three eunuchs leaned out and he said "Drop her out" and they dropped her out' (II Kings 9:32-33). The literal use of the clause is clear since the window, being above Jehu, necessitated his raising his face in order to look up and see it and to speak to those in it. There is no apparent symbolic meaning to this gesture here.

5. Cf. p.90, n.9.

of justice.<sup>1</sup> The unacceptability of the action in this legal context is shown by its prohibition<sup>2</sup> and disavowal,<sup>3</sup> or by the consequent scorn and abasement.<sup>4</sup> It is paralleled with other unacceptable practices,<sup>5</sup> and is contrasted to acceptable attributes or procedures.<sup>6</sup> The action is punished if it takes place.<sup>7</sup> This semantic field of the idiom indicates that in a legal context it is a perversion of justice similar to altering the judgement on the basis of things other than the facts of the case, such as is done by bribery. Its occurrence with 'favouring the great'<sup>8</sup> and

1. Deut.10:17 speaks of the great Yahweh: אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשָּׂא פָנָיו וְלֹא יִקַּח שֹׁחַד: 'who does not raise the face and does not take bribes'. Prov.6:35 describes the vengeance taken upon the guilty man by a cuckolded husband: לֹא-יִשָּׂא פָנָיו כִּלְ-כַּפֹּר וְלֹא-יֵאָבֵד פִּי תַרְבֵּה-שֹׁחַד: 'He will not raise the face of any cover-up, nor will he accept if you increase bribery'. In II Chr.19:7 judges are admonished to fear Yahweh: כִּי-אֵין עִם-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ צוּלָה וּמִשָּׁל פָּנִים וּמִקַּח-שֹׁחַד: 'for with Yahweh there is no injustice, or raising of face, or taking of bribes'.
2. Lev.19:15.
3. Job 32:31.
4. Mal.2:9.
5. נָטָה צֶדֶק בְּמִשְׁפָּט, 'pervert<sup>ing</sup> justice' - Prov.18:5; עָשָׂה צוּל בְּמִשְׁפָּט / שֹׁפֵט צוּל, 'judging, doing wrongly' - Lev.19:15, Psa.82:2; הָדַר פָּנָיו גָּדוֹל, 'favouring the great' - Lev.19:15; secretiveness - Job 13:10; סָר מִן הַדֶּרֶךְ, 'turning aside from the way'; הִשְׁפִּיל, 'causing to stumble'; שָׁחַת בְּרִית, 'ruin the covenant'; אֵין שֹׁמֵר דֶּרֶךְ, 'not keeping the way' - Mal.2:8-9; נָתַן, 'giving' distinction - Job 32:21.
6. שֹׁפֵט בְּצֶדֶק, 'judging with justice' - Lev.19:15; Yahweh's positive attributes - Psa.82:2.
7. Job 13:10.
8. Lev.19:15.

'making distinction'<sup>1</sup> strengthen this interpretation as well as pointing to a more specific meaning, that of basing the judgement on the people who are involved rather than upon the evidence presented, in other words 'to show partiality'.<sup>2</sup>

In the nominal form,<sup>3</sup> the action of the idiom itself is indicated. The person to whom the action is directed is indicated either by appearing in a construct relationship with פָּנִים in a verbal clause, e.g. לֹא תִשָּׂא פָנֶיךָ לַדָּל 'do not be partial to the weak',<sup>4</sup> or by a suffix.<sup>5</sup> When the phrase does not have a construct or a suffix, the undirected action of showing partiality is indicated.<sup>6</sup> In one instance, the sphere in which partiality is shown is explicitly stated, i.e., in legal matters.<sup>7</sup> In each of these occurrences, the idiomatic phrase is transitive, that is one person shows partiality to (i.e., 'lifts the face of') another.

1. Job 32:21.

2. This interpretation is similar to those of M. Noth, Leviticus (1965), p.137, "be partial", E. Dhorme, Job (1967), p.184, "be partial, to favour one person to the detriment of others, to respect persons"; p.485, "to side with someone", S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy (1902), p.126, "regard persons", J.M. Myers, II Chronicles (1965), p.106, "partiality", and F. Michaeli, Les Livres des Chroniques, d'Esdras et de Néhémie (1967), p.89, "partialité", 'partiality'.

3. פָּנִים תִּשָּׂא - II Chr.19:7; שָׂאת פָּנִים - Prov.18:5.

4. Lev.19:15. Cf. also Psa.82:2; Job 32:21; Prov.6:35 for other construct relationships.

5. הֲפָנִי תִשָּׂא אִם-לֹא תִרְיִבוּנִי: , 'Are you showing partiality to him if you dispute with God?' (Job 13:8).

6. Deut.10:17; Job 13:10.

7. Mal.2:9 :נִשְׂאִים פָּנִים בַּתּוֹרָה: '... and showing partiality (i.e., raising the face) in the law'.



1.2 In other contexts **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** is also transitive, as shown by the subject of the phrase (indicated by the verbal affix) being a different person from the object (indicated by the pronominal suffix or construct formation with **פָּנָי**).<sup>1</sup> **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** does not have a negative connotation in these passages. As an active verbal phrase it shares the semantic field with verbs denoting desirable actions or states.<sup>2</sup> It is something requested or sought after,<sup>3</sup> and cannot be expected if one does wrong.<sup>4</sup> It is something which is done by Yahweh's messenger,<sup>5</sup> who would be expected to do good. If the action is not performed where expected, punishment results.<sup>6</sup>

Five of these verses are explicitly in the context of requests.<sup>7</sup> In each case it is the petitioner, indicated by a construct,<sup>8</sup> or suffix<sup>9</sup> of **פָּנָי**, whose face is raised

1. Gen.19:21 - **הָיָה נִשְׂאֵתִי פָנֶיהָ גַם לְדָבָר הַזֶּה וְגו'**; 32:21 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנָי** ...; I Sam.25:35 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנָי** ...; Job 42:8 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנֶיהָ וְגו'**; Mal.1:8 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנֶיהָ וְגו'**; Job 42:8 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנֶיהָ** ...; cf. v.9; Lam.4:16 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנֶיהָ** ...; For Deut.28:50 - **וְנָשָׂא פָנֶיהָ** ...; see the discussion on p.96.

2. Cf. Deut.28:50 and Lam.4:16 where it occurs with **קָבַל** and Mal.1:8 with **רָצָה**.

3. Gen.19:21; 32:21; I Sam.25:35; Job 42:8,9.

4. II Sam.2:22; Mal.1:8.

5. Gen.19:21.

6. Lam.4:16.

7. Job 42:8,9 - prayer to Yahweh to escape punishment; Gen.19:21 - request of Yahweh's messengers not to destroy some villages; I Sam.25:35 - a request to spare a life; Mal.1:8 - an a fortiori argument in which it is said that Yahweh will not accept unworthy sacrifices, which are to accompany prayers since even the governor ( **מֶלֶךְ** ) would not accept such petitionary gifts.

8. Job 42:9.

9. Gen.19:21; I Sam.25:35; Mal.1:8; Job 42:8.

by the person petitioned, who is the subject of the clause.

'Raising the face' of the petitioner is a desirable response to his petition in each of these passages, which in four cases regard explicitly negative requests.<sup>1</sup> In each instance a special favour is bestowed by granting the petition, which is apparently the meaning of **נָשָׂא פָּנִים**.

Two other verses in the transitive group also involve the granting of a similar kindness. In Gen.32:21, the warm reception of Jacob on the part of Esau was what Jacob was seeking by presenting gifts (an implicit request similar to that in Mal.1:8), but would not have normally been forthcoming in the circumstances. This welcome was a favour on the part of Esau. Lam.4:16 concerns the turning away of Yahweh from his people because they have polluted themselves. The people whose 'heads are not raised' are the priests, who are the petitioners for the people in their presentation of offerings (cf. Mal.1:8). The two adjacent verbs **הִבִּיט** 'to look at'<sup>2</sup> and **הִנָּן** 'to be gracious', which describe other benefits which will be withheld, suggest that **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** in this context also is a special benefit or favour from Yahweh which he will not bestow.

The other verse in this category records that since the people did not serve Yahweh: **(49) יֵשָׂא יְהוָה עֲלֶיךָ גּוֹי**  
**מִדְּרָק מִקֶּצֶה הָאָרֶץ ... גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹנִי (50) גּוֹי**

1. Gen.19:21; I Sam.25:35; Job 42:8,9.

2. With the extended meaning of providing assistance, cf. e.g. Pss.84:10; 102:20.

עַל פָּנִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא-נִשָּׂא פָּנִים לְזָקֵן וְנֶעֱר לֹא יָחַן :

'Yahweh will raise against you a distant nation ... a nation whose language you will not understand, a strong-faced nation who will not raise the face of the poor<sup>1</sup> and will not show grace to the young' (Deut.28:49-50).

The literary form of this passage is similar to that of Lev.19:15 in that two opposite groups, as synecdoche signifying the entire people, are used with synonymous verbs.<sup>2</sup> The idiomatic phrase also occurs in the semantic field of חָנַן.<sup>3</sup> It is also similar to the previous examples since it is also transitive, i.e., done by one person to another. These similarities, in context with those in which נִשָּׂא פָּנִים meant 'to show special favour', suggest that this is the meaning here as well. This interpretation is consistent with the passage, since such favour would not be given by their enemy to those whom they conquered. In both 1.1 and 1.2, the idiom נִשָּׂא פָּנִים has the same meaning, i.e., 'to show special favour towards another'. In a legal context, when a suit must be decided according to the truth, the action is condemned as a perversion of justice. In the realm of interpersonal relationships in a case where one party has a particular need, this favour is desirable and to be admired. This interpretation of the phrase provides a satisfactory explanation of both sets of circumstances without at the same

1. Cf. Gesenius-Kautsch §129, p.419, concerning the genetival use of ל.

2. Lev.19:15 - נִשָּׂא פָּנִים לְזָקֵן and נִשָּׂא פָּנִים לְנֶעֱר; here נִשָּׂא פָּנִים and נִשָּׂא פָּנִים לְזָקֵן.

3. See also Lam.4:16, cf. p.94, n.2.

time necessitating two separate meanings for the same idiom.<sup>1</sup>

1.3 In Mal.1:9, נָשָׂא פָּנִים occurs with the preposition מִן . It is in the context of bringing to Yahweh unsatisfactory sacrifices which <sup>even</sup> the governor would not accept.<sup>2</sup> The people are told to entreat Yahweh who will be gracious to them. The writer then adds: מִיָּדְכֶם הִתָּה זֹאת הִישָׂא... .

מִמֶּם פָּנִים אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת: "This is from your hand. Will he raise face from you?" said Yahweh of hosts' (Mal.1:9). This is a cryptic passage since the referents are ambiguous. If זֹאת refers to the unacceptable sacrifices offered, the following phrase could be interpreted as being a desirable response on the part of Yahweh, which would not be forthcoming because of this bad behaviour, i.e., 'You presented these unacceptable sacrifices to him; do you expect him to be favourable to you?'. J.M.P. Smith apparently interpreted the passage in this way in his translation as "Will he be gracious towards you?".<sup>3</sup> This interpretation of 'to be gracious, favourable' is similar to that of other passages with נָשָׂא פָּנִים (cf. 1.1, pp.91-93 and 1.2, pp.94-97), but none of these occur with the preposition מִן .<sup>4</sup>

1. Some have recognised a single meaning of נָשָׂא פָּנִים in both of these contexts, e.g., W. McKane, Proverbs (1970), p.56 and E. Dhorme, Job (1967), pp.184, 649, but some have posited two distinct meanings, e.g. J. Skinner, Genesis, 2nd ed. (1930), p.309.

2. Cf. concerning Mal.1:8, p.94, n.7.

3. Malachi (1912), p.29.

4. Smith (ibid.) recognised the uniqueness of the form found in Mal.1:9.

It is also possible to interpret the זָאָה as referring to the entreaty to, and favour from, Yahweh, which are physically closer in the grammatical context. In this case נָשָׂא פָּנִים מִן could not mean 'to show favour' or the like, since it is in the form of a question which has already been answered (וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ: v.9). Instead of taking this as an allomorph of the usual idiom meaning 'to show favour' with an additional מִן, it is easier, and internally consistent within the passage, to interpret נָשָׂא פָּנִים in Mal.1:8 as the idiom meaning 'to show favour'. The same phrase with the added preposition in Mal.1:9 could then indicate a pun on this meaning and the literal 'raise the face' used to mean 'to look at' (cf. p.91, n.4) which the preposition מִן would make 'to look away from'. This would be a synonym of 'to take favour away'. The interpretation provides a meaning acceptable in this context while maintaining the importance of the preposition and the similarity in form of the idiom to other occurrences having the meaning 'to favour'. It also explains the two different forms of the idiom in contiguous verses.

1.4 When used as a personal epithet, the verb occurs in the form of the passive participle, i.e., נִשְׂא פָּנִים, 'raised of face' which indicates a state. It is so used in the context of a list of laudatory epithets,<sup>1</sup> or is

1. וְנָשָׂא שָׂר-צָבָא, מַלְכָּה-אֲרָם קִיָּה אִישׁ גָּדוֹל לְפָנָיו וְנָשָׂא פָּנִים כִּי-בֹרַי  
 נָמֵן-יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה לְאָרָם וְהָאִישׁ קִיָּה גִבּוֹר טוֹל מַצָּדָע :  
 Naaman, the commander of the King of Aram's army, was a great man before his lord and raised of face since through him Yahweh had given salvation to Aram. The man was a mighty man of valour, but leprous' (II Kings 5:1).

included among a list of important people.<sup>1</sup> From this context it is clear that **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** is a positive epithet, but it is not clear exactly what is meant. Based on the meaning of the active form of **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** established in 1.2 (p.96), the interpretation 'favoured person' is consistent with this context. Due to its inclusion within lists of specifically defined people, the **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** must also have had some specific function within the life of the community, but this function or its importance cannot be determined.<sup>2</sup>

1.5 In three other occurrences of **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** the phrase is reflexive. This is indicated by the agreement between the person of the verb and the pronominal suffix of the noun in the phrase **נָשָׂא פָּנָיו**.<sup>3</sup> These three occurrences include the preposition **אֵל**. The context of each indicates that the phrase has positive, desirable connotations.<sup>4</sup> M. Noth suggested that this phrase meant

1. When Isaiah warned that Yahweh would remove all support from Jerusalem and Judah, he included: **גִּבּוֹר וְאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה שׁוֹפֵט וְנָבִיא וְקָסֵם וְזֶקֶן: (3) שֶׁר-חַמְשִׁים וְנָשָׂא פָּנִים: וְיֹדֵעַ וְחָכֵם וְחָשִׁים וְגִבּוֹר לְחֶשֶׁת:** 'the valiant and the man of war, judge, prophet, diviner, elder, commander of fifty, raised of face, advisor, wise man, craftsmen and skilled in whispering' (Isa.3:2-3). When he later says that Yahweh will cut off head and tail from Israel, he contrasts: **זֶקֶן וְנָשָׂא פָּנִים הוּא קֶרֶשׁ וְגו'** 'the elder and raised of face, he is the head', with: **וְנָבִיא מִרְה-שָׁקֶר הוּא הַזֶּנֶב** 'the prophet teaching lies, he is the tail' (Isa.9:14). Cf. also Job 22:8 in which **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** is listed with **אִישׁ יָרֹעַ**.

2. Cf. e.g., *ša rēši* which is a designation for a functionary using the head as part of the epithet but which is internally undefinable. E. Dhorme in *L'emploi*, pp.46-47 interpreted **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** to be "celui auquel le prince a permis de lever les yeux, le favori", 'the one whom the prince had permitted to raise the eyes, the favourite'. This interpretation is possible, but is not provable from the texts.

"to look at", in the sense of "turning towards someone in friendship".<sup>1</sup> The first part of this interpretation is supported by II Kings 9:32 where the face was raised in order to look at someone.<sup>2</sup> The interpretation 'to turn towards someone in friendship' cannot be determined from these verses. The lack of further examples of this form of the idiom in a similar context forestalls an adequate interpretation.

1.6 One other occurrence of נָשָׂא פָנִים is explicitly reflexive.<sup>3</sup> This also has a positive connotation since it is a desired change from being among the blemished, is a result of purificatory actions, and is accompanied by freedom from fear. E. Dhorme interprets this as an allusion to Job 10:15 in which a lowered head is a sign of shame.<sup>4</sup> This is a valid interpretation of

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3. E.g.: וַיִּשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים פָּנָיו וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח אֱלֹהִים בְּיֹאבָב בְּנֵי אִמִּי... Num.6:26; וַיִּשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים פָּנָיו וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח אֱלֹהִים בְּיֹאבָב בְּנֵי אִמִּי... II Sam.2:22; וַיִּשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים פָּנָיו וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח אֱלֹהִים בְּיֹאבָב בְּנֵי אִמִּי... Job 22:26.

4. Num.6 reads: (24) וְיִבְרַךְ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ: (25) וְיֵאָר יְהוָה פָּנָיו (26) וְיִתְהַדָּר יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַח יְהוָה וְיִשְׂמַח יְהוָה בְּיֹאבָב בְּנֵי אִמִּי: 'May Yahweh bless and keep you; may Yahweh make his face shine upon you and be gracious unto you; may Yahweh raise his face to you and give you peace' (Num.6:24-26). In II Sam.2:22, Abner asks Asahel to stop chasing him: לָמָּה אֶעֱבֹר אַרְצָה וְאֵיךְ אֶשָּׂא פָנַי... 'Why should I strike you to the earth? How would I raise my face to Joab, your brother?'. The context indicates that the action was something desirable which could not be done if Asahel was killed. The semantic field of Job 22:26-27, i.e., עַל שְׂדֵי תִתְעַבֵּב, 'You will delight in the Almighty', שָׁמַע, 'he will hear (prayers)', נִדְרֶיךָ תִּשְׁלֵם, 'you will fulfill your vows', also indicate a positive connotation.

1. Numbers (1968), p.59.

2. Cf. p.91, n.4.

this passage and is paralleled by the same meaning of other body parts used with the same verb.<sup>1</sup> It would, however, be the only occurrence in the OT of נָשָׂא פָּנִים with this meaning.

## 2 הָרִים פָּנִים, 'to raise the face'

הָרִים פָּנִים is used once. When Ezra heard that the Israelites had married non-Israelites, he tore his clothes and prayed: ... אֱלֹהֵי בָשָׂתִי וְנִכְלַמְתִּי קִדְּרִים אֱלֹהֵי פָנַי אֵלֶיךָ. 'My God, I am in the wrong<sup>2</sup> and humiliated to raise, o God, my face to you, for our sins have increased above (our) head and our guilt has grown to the heavens' (Ezra 9:6). This action is reflexive and is directed toward God, as shown by the preposition אֶל with the second person singular pronominal suffix in the address to God.

J.M. Myers interpreted the clause as an idiom meaning

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3. Job 11:15, in which deceitful man is told that, if he prepares his heart and stretches forth his hands in petition, first he must rid himself and his tent of evil: כִּי-אֲנִי תַשָּׂא פָנֶיךָ מִמּוֹם וְהָיִיתָ כְּכֶזֶב וְלֹא תִירָא: 'Therefore you will raise your head from the blemished. You will be settled and will not fear'.
4. Job (1967), p.165. Cf. II B 1.2, pp.14-15. He cites as further support Gen.4:6,7 in which Cain, after hearing that his offering was not acceptable: (5) וַיִּחַר לְקַיִן מְאֹד וַיִּפְּלוּ פָנָיו: (6) וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-קַיִן לָמָּה חָרָה לָךְ וְלָמָּה נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ: (7) וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל-יְהוָה אֵם-תִּיטִיב שְׂאת וּגְוֹ. Cain was angry and his face fell. Yahweh said to Cain, "Why are you angry and why did your face fall? If you do well, raised". S.R. Driver interpreted this as an elision of פָּנִים in Genesis, 9th ed. (1913), p.65. U. Cassuto, however, in A Commentary on the Book of Genesis I (1961, rep.1972), p.210, shows that נָשָׂא in this verse is antithesis of נָשָׂא וַיִּתְּחַלּוּ and literally means "to rise up and stand firmly". So the supposed parallel to Job 10:15 is weakened.



'ask forgiveness'.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is possible since this is a prayer, and the person praying would be expected to raise his face to address God. Against this is the lack of an explicit request for forgiveness anywhere in the passage. Ezra acknowledges the peoples' guilt and Yahweh's righteousness but only says that they are not able to be in his presence because of this. This would suggest that the unraised face is a sign of shame, which does occur in the immediate context of the clause and governs the infinitive construct. This would mean that the opposite, a raised face, would signify the opposite sentiment, i.e., 'pride' or 'self-assurance'.<sup>2</sup> The text is from the third-second centuries.

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1. Cf. II B 1.2, pp.14-15.

2. J.W. Olley in VI XXVI (1976), p.231, shows that וַיֵּא often occurs in a forensic context with the connotation of "shown to be in the wrong".

1. Ezra. Nehemiah. (1965), p.79.

2. Cf. Chapter II B 1.2, pp.14-15, in which a raised head signifies pride and especially 4.1.3, pp.41-42, and 5.2, pp.46-47, in which the unraised head is discussed.

3. pāna našû, 'to raise the face'

pāna našû occurs in an MA incantation<sup>1</sup> and an NA royal inscription.<sup>2</sup> In the former, the writer confesses his sins including: (12) a-na makkûri(NÍG.GA)-ka rap-ši at-ta-ši pa-ni-/ia/ (13) a-na kaspi(KÙ.BABBAR)-ka šu-qu-ri la-lu-ú-a il-li-ik, 'I raised my face to your extensive holdings, my desire went to your valuable silver' (VAT 9736). The formal and semantic parallelism of ana makkûrika rapši and ana kaspika šûquri suggests a similar relationship between pāna našû and lalûa illik. Both phrases would, therefore, express desire, as W.G. Lambert translated the idiom, "covet".<sup>3</sup> This is idiomatic since it involves more than simply 'looking' which would be done by raising the face.

In the NA passage, people who were overwhelmingly defeated by Sargon: (252) a-na bu-ši-i-šu-nu ma--di pa-na la iš-šu-ú/, 'to their abundant belongings they do not raise their face' (TCL III). Here there is no desire explicit in the context as it was in the previous example, although it could well be implicit, a yearning for that which was lost to the conquerors. This could also mean that the people were so despondant as a result of their defeat that they no longer cared for their possessions (cf. III D 2, pp.109-110; 3, pp.110-11, in which the redirection of attention is indicated by a similar gesture).

1. VAT 9736:12 in KAR 45 (p.79) - MA: par. K.2367+ in JNES 33 (1974), p.314 (as 1.141).

2. TCL III:252 (pl.XII).

3. JNES 33 (1974), p.283, 1.141. Cf. AHw., p.762 (sub našû(m) I 2 e), "sich sehnen", 'to yearn for'.

- 4 pāna(m) (w)abālu(m), 'to bring, carry the face'  
pāna(m) (w)abālu(m) also occurs in legal contexts,<sup>1</sup>  
 in requests,<sup>2</sup> and as a personal attribute.<sup>3</sup>

4.1 The apodosis of an OB law concerning a son committing a crime severe enough to cause him to be disowned<sup>4</sup> records:  
 (30) a-na iš-ti-iš-šu (31) pa-ni-šu ub-ba-lu (32) šum-ma ar-nam kab-tam (33) a-na ši-ni-šu it-ba-lam (34) a-bu-um māri(DUMU)-šu (35) i-na ap-lu-tim (36) i-na-sā-aḥ, 'his first time, they will carry his face. If he then commits the serious crime a second time, the father will remove his son from the sonship' (LH § 169). From this context it is apparent that the justifiable punishment was not carried out in the first instance and that the phrase conveying this is pānišu ubbalū. pānam wabālum in this context, therefore, means 'to forgive' or 'to show leniency towards'.<sup>5</sup> In this,

1. E.g. LH § 169; ARM I 82 (pl. CIV):16-17; II 94 (pl. CXII):18-19; VAT 7572:12-14 in VAS XVI 88 (pl. 36); AO 8314:33 in TCL VII 11 (pl. IV) - OB; U7787q:9 in UET VII 49 (pl. XXIII) - MB; CBS 12927:12 in PBS II/2, 55 (pl. 24) - MB.

2. E.g. 83-1-18, 2348:r.21 in PSBA XXXI (1909) pl. VI - SB; VAT 10034+:39 in KAR 357 (pl. 299) - MA.

3. E.g. K.235+:15 in BMS 11 (pl. 23); K.4931:r.8 in ASKT 15 (p. 117) - NA; Bu.91-5-9, 290:25 in CT II, pl. 19 - OB.

4. šumma arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim nasāḥim ana abīšu itbalam, LH § 169.

5. This, or similar interpretations, is found in e.g. Driver and Miles Babylonian Laws I, p. 349 "forgive"; II, p. 65 "pardon"; Borger BAL I LXXXVI (sub (w)abalu), "verziehen", 'to pardon'; A. Finet, Le Code de Hammurapi (1973), p. 98, "pardonner", 'to pardon'; CAD A1, p. 18 (sub abālu A 5 pānu a) has this interpretation for this text, but also notes another meaning of "to show preference, favor", *ibid.*, pp. 18-19 (loc. cit., a). Forgiveness is explicitly in the field of pāna abālu in the context of an NA request when the petitioner

and similar texts, the person forgiven is indicated by the pronominal suffix appended to pāni,<sup>1</sup> or by pāni in the construct with the noun.<sup>2</sup> In one instance it is the judgement itself rather than a person who is not forgiven.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the active form of the phrase shown by the G-,<sup>4</sup> or Gtn-<sup>5</sup> stems, pāna(m) wabālu(m) also occurs in the passive N- stem in several texts.<sup>6</sup> One of these concerns the transfer of a field which one party had been holding back. He was instructed to effect the transfer immediately: (31) ki-ma ša i-ta-a-am ra-bi-a-am (32) te-ti-ḳu (33) pa-nu-ku-nu ḳ-ul ib-ba-ab-ba-lu, 'because you have transgressed the great limit (i.e. because you have exceeded the bounds), you will not be pardoned (i.e. your faces will not be lifted)' (AU 8314).<sup>7</sup> Here again forgiveness or pardon is involved, only it is received rather than given.<sup>8</sup> The person pardoned is

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asks Ištar: hi-ti-ti dup-pi-ri ub-lim pa-ni-ia, 'forgive my sins, pardon me (i.e. raise my face)' (K.4931, ASKT 15). (Cf. OECT VI, p.79 for this translation.) Cf. also K.8237+: 13,15 in AfO 19 (1960) pl.XII: ti-di ina pi-i šer-ti pa-na ba-ba-la pa-ta-ra en-nit-ta ina šap-šá-qi, 'you know in the face of guilt to pardon (i.e. to raise the face), to waive the penalty and spare extreme distress'. *Note* 'Idiomatic Accadian', p.256, "to glance at somebody (out of a friendly impulse), to forgive".

1. E.g. CBS 12927:12 in PBS II/2,55; ARM I 82:16; II 94:18; Bu.91-5-9,290:25 in CT II, pl.19; U 7787q:9 in UET VII 49.
2. E.g. VAT 7572:12 in VAS XVI 88 (pl.36) - OB.
3. In LB 1868, in TLB IV 21 (pl.XII) - OB: (28) ki-ma pa-ni di-ni la ub-ba-lu (29) a-mu-ur, 'and when I saw that he did not forgive the judgement ...', it is the decision which is not forgiven.
4. E.g. VAT 7572:12-14 in VAS XVI 88; LB 1868:26 in TLB IV; CBS 13972, col.13:b'-8' in PBS XV, pl.XV; ARM I 82:6; II 94:19 - OB; VAT 9933:4 in Lambert BWL pl.37 ('Dialogue of Pessimism' - post Kas.).

still indicated by the pronominal suffix appended to pānum, now in the nominative case with a passive verb.

The idiom also occurs several times as a personal epithet in the form of a negated present participle of the biform babālu, i.e., la bābil pāni. It is used of undesirable people<sup>1</sup> or demons.<sup>2</sup> While it is not possible, by the nature of an epithet, to determine the exact meaning of the phrase in these contexts, since they generally list only important characterisations of the person described, without giving the background, or an explanation, of each point, an interpretation

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5. E.g. Bu.91-5-9, 290:25 in CT II, pl.19.

6. E.g. AO 8314:33 in TCL VII 11 (pl.IV) - OB; U 7787q:9 in UET VII 49; CBM 3660:2-3 in BE XVII/1, 76 (pl.55) CBS 12912:21 in PBS II/2 51 (pl.21); CBS 12927:12 in ibid., 55 - all MB.

7. TCL VII 11.

8. Cf. RA 21 (1924), p.12 "vous ne serez pas pardonnés", 'you will not be pardoned' and CAD I/J, p.314 (sub itû A 1 b 2 ), "you will not be forgiven".

1. ajābu in H. Winckler, Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen (1892) 78 VI 39 (pl.37). šakkanakku eḫṣu ... uššissinatima, 'a bad official who persecutes' in K.2619 II:13-14 in BA 2 (1894), p.481.

2. gallû - 83-1-18, 2348+:r.18' in PSBA 31 (1909), pl.VI; VAT 10034+:39' in KAR 357; limnu - Bu.85-4-30, 1:30 in PSBA XI (1889), pl.VII; H. Winckler, Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte, 78 IX 38 (pl.40).

of 'unforgiving' or the like corresponds well to the people so designated.<sup>1</sup>

All of the forms and contexts discussed in which pāna(m) (w)abālu(m) occurs have a similar semantic range, i.e., 'to pardon, show favour'.

5

būnam našûm

The phrase būnam našûm occurs in an OB royal inscription of Samsuiluna in which Zababa and Ištar are joyful when told by Enlil that Samsuiluna will be exalted and helped: (62) a-na Sa-am-su-il-lu-na ... (66) bu-ni-šu-nu sa ba-la-tim (67) na-aw-ri-iš iš-šu-um-ma (68) el-ši-iš it-ti-šu (69) i-ta-wu-ú, 'They radiantly raised their life-giving faces to Samsuiluna and joyfully spoke with him' (Samsuiluna C).<sup>2</sup> This reflexive action is directed towards (ana) one to whom the subject wished to speak (cf. p.31, n.1 and p.91, n.4). Even though Samsuiluna was only a mortal, the gods had to 'raise their faces' to him in order to speak. This could be a result of Enlil's favour, which had exalted him to a position to be looked up to. No symbolism of the gesture itself is evident from the text, but the modifiers of the action, i.e., 'life-giving' and 'brightly', suggest that a more positive assistance might be meant by the gesture.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. CAD I/J, p.313 (sub itû A 1 a 6), "merciless"; MVAG 23/II (1919), p.14, "der keine Verzeihung gewährt", 'who grants no pardon'; *ibid.*, p.18, "unerbittlichen", 'remorseless'; RA 21 (1924), p.12, n.5, "qui ne pardonne pas", 'who does not pardon'.

2. BAL III pl.32.

3. Cf. *L'emploi*, p.52 where Dhorme notes that ina būnišunu namrūti is used of the joy with which gods regard their protégés.

C

'to strike'<sup>1</sup>pāna maḥāṣu, 'to strike the face'

In an MB kudurru, one of the curses against any who might remove the stone is: (19) <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) dajjānu(DI.KU<sub>5</sub>) šamê(AN<sup>e</sup>) ù eršetim(KI<sup>tim</sup>) pa-ni-šu lim-ḥaṣ-ma (20) ūmi(UD)-šu nam-ru a-na da-um-ma-ti li-tur-šu, 'May Šamaš, judge of the heavens and the earth strike his face; may he turn his bright day into darkness' (BM 90841 II).<sup>2</sup>

Here the god strikes the culprit, indicated by the pronominal suffix of pāni. Either this action is separate from and in addition to the next line, in which case there is not enough context to determine the meaning of pānišu limḥaṣma, or else the second line is in some way related to the first. CAD adopted the latter interpretation in translating the clause as "may Šamaš strike him ... blind so that the bright day will turn into darkness for him".<sup>3</sup> In that case the blow is literal, with no apparent symbolic significance.<sup>4</sup>

1. Cf. II C, pp.53-54 for the verbs discussed.

2. In BBSt. VII, II (pl.LIX) - MB.

3. D, p.123 (sub da'ummatu).

4. The blow could also have caused unconsciousness, leading to the same results, but this cannot be determined.

D 'to turn (around)'.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of occurrences in Hebrew and Akkadian in which a form of 'to turn the face' is used. In each instance, however, they are literal or metaphorical but, since they are understandable from an analysis of the gesture itself, none of the occurrences are idiomatic.

1. פָּנָה פָּנִים , 'to turn the face'

פָּנָה פָּנִים occurs in Jer.2:27 (seventh cent. B.C.) and 32:33 (D) in the context of Israel's apostasy. In both cases Yahweh said to the people: וַיִּפְּנוּ אֵלַי עֲרֹךְ וְלֹא פָנִים וּגֵר' (32:33; 2:27 var. פִּי - פָּנָה וּגֵר' ), 'And they turned their neck and not their face to me'. This epexegetis of the previously mentioned apostasy is a metaphorical 'turning' and is not idiomatic.

2 סָבַב פָּנִים , 'to turn the face'

סָבַב פָּנִים is used once in the Piel-stem,<sup>2</sup> and seven times in the Hiphil-stem.<sup>3</sup> In the Piel-stem the phrase is literal, used for 'to change the direction' (לְבַעֲבוֹר סָבַב אֶת-) (פָּנִי הַמִּדְבָּר וּגֵר' ). In the Hiphil-stem, הִסְבִּיחַ פָּנִים is used twice of literally turning toward people in order to

1. Cf. Chapter II D, p. 8 for the verbs discussed.

2. II Sam.14:20 (D).

3. Judg.18:23 (P); I Kings 8:14; 21:4 (D); II Kings 20:2 (D); Ezek.7:22 (sixth cent. B.C.); II Chr.29:6; 35:22 (fourth cent. B.C.).



speak to them (Judg.18:23; I Kings 8:14), and twice of turning away in discouragement (I Kings 21:4; II Kings 20:2). Three times the face is explicitly turned away ( np ) from something, i.e., Yahweh's face from the people because of their being profaned in Ezek.7:22, the Israelites turning away from Yahweh in unfaithfulness, and presenting the neck (cf. D 1, p.109 ) in II Chr.29:6, and Joash turning his face away from doing battle with Neco<sup>(II Chr. 35:22)</sup>. In each case the emphasis of the action is upon what would be neglected. None of these instances are idiomatic and are all understandable literally or else as metaphor.

3 pāna(m) subhuru(m), 'to turn the face'

pāna(m) subhuru(m) occurs in the context of illness,<sup>1</sup> and in hymns or different forms of request, and is at times to be desired,<sup>2</sup> and at time shunned.<sup>3</sup>

In each case the turning face indicates the directing of attention in a different direction. If the god or person

1. VAT 8276:1 in KAR 80 (pl.146). The inclusion of the phrase among a list of literal, physical ailments, i.e., 'seized' head, sore nostrils, loose teeth, and heartburn indicate that a 'turned head' is also literal and indicates an ailment, possibly a muscle spasm.
2. E.g. BM 91000:18 in BBSt., pl.XCVIII - MA; K.521:23 in ABL 885; K.143:1b in Craig ABRT II b - NA; K.3426:10 in CT XIII, pl.48; MVAG [I] (1896), p.78, col.VII:17,19 - NB; D.T. 15 I:31 in Racc., p.149 - Sel.
3. E.g. Syria 19 (1938) 126:16 (translit. only) - DB; VAT 9727:36 in KAR 2b (pl.50) - MA; K.101:8' in ASKT 115 - NA; BM 26187:70,77,93 in STC II pl.LXXXI - LXXXIII - NB.

in authority turns toward the speaker, the action is desirable, since it signifies concern for the person faced, but if the face is turned away, the care is removed.<sup>1</sup> In some texts, the direction of the turning, i.e., whether towards or away from the speaker, is not explicit in the passage but the result of the gesture is clear.<sup>2</sup> These actions also are not idiomatic but metaphorical.

E 'to seize, hold'<sup>3</sup>

1 pāna(m) sabātu(m), 'to seize the face'

pāna(m) sabātu(m) is used in the contexts of the movement of people or objects,<sup>4</sup> military manoeuvres,<sup>5</sup> and personal encounters.<sup>6</sup>

1. Cf. L'emploi, p.4b for the interpretation 'détourner son regard de', 'to turn his regard from', as contrasted with 'turning towards' a person in sympathy.

2. E.g. BM26187 in STC II, pl.LXXXI: (70) ... sub-hur pa-ni u ma-le-e lib-ba-a-ti (71) uz-zu ug-ga-ti ..., 'turning of the face and filling of anger, wrath and fury'. This could also be interpreted as turning towards a person in order to direct the angry attention at him.

3. Cf. Chapter II F pp.74-75 for a discussion of the verbs.

4. E.g. ARM I 5 (pl.VII):39; 10:r.14' (pl.XV); 9b:8 (pl.CXIX); II 78:30,34 (pl.XCV); VI 20:12 (pl.19); BM 15862:8-9 in LIH I 27 (pl.45); MLC 1332:5-b in YOS XIII 170 (pl.LVII); CBS 1466:3-4 in PBS VII 121 (pl.LXXXVIII); BM 23152:10-12 in LIH I 40 (pl.68) - all OB; IB 212\*:15 in Cagni Erra, fig.1; VAT 8869:14 in köcher BAM III 248 col.III (pl.52) - MA; K.3082+:7 in W. Budge, History of Esarhaddon (1880), p.114; OIP II, p.175 iv:2 - NA; BM 21946:2 in Wiseman Chron., pl.XIV - NB.

In an MA medical commentary, after Sîn mated with his cow: (14) uš-te-eš-bi-is-si-ma pa-an su-kul-lim (15) re-e-ú-tu al-la-ka arki(EGIR)-šá, 'he caused her to seize the face of the herd. The herd was going behind her' (VAT 8869 in köcher BAM III 248). This phrase is idiomatic if pānam is understood as the physical head, but it is commonly recognized, that terms for parts of the body in Akkadian developed a prepositional use which was independent, to some extent, of their original physical referents, e.g. mubbum, šērum, pānum, etc. (cf. GAG §115). pānum, the

In the texts concerning personal encounters, the verb is in the imperative. The Mari letter records a speech of someone (text broken) saying (r.9') ... ša-ba-at pa-ni-i/a-ma/ (r.10') a-na še-er Zi-im-ri-li-im lu-u/l-l/i-ik, 'hold my face, I would go to Zimrilim'.<sup>1</sup> CAD interprets this as an idiom

.....

physical face, developed the prepositional meaning 'before' or 'the place directly in front of'. The phrase pāna(m) sabātu(m) with this prepositional use of the noun results not in an idiom but in a literal phrase meaning 'to seize or hold the place in front of'. In this context, (cf. also MLC 1332:5-6, YOS XIII 170: pān alpi ... sabtu; Bu. 91-5-9, 329:9-10 in LIH 54 (pl.9'): pāni šēni ... sabbānim) and in similar contexts referring to troops (e.g. CBS 1466:3-4, PbS 7,121; ARM I 5:39; 10:r.14'; 96:8; VI 20:12; BM 2194b:2, Wiseman Chron., pl.XIV) or other groups of people or objects, this preceding position is taken up in order to take the lead.

5. Abel-Winckler, pl.25 I:19 - MB; OIP II, p.182 v:61; Ashurbanipal Prism Edition v:92 (unpub. text, translit. only) in AS 5, p.68. - NA. The phrase is used of troops seizing, in a military sense, the front (facing the writer) of the march (girru, Abel-Winckler, p.25 I:19) or watering place (mašqu, OIP II v:61 and AS 5, p.68:92) in order to block further advance. Here also the phrase pāna(m) sabātu(m) is understandable as the literal, prepositional use of the noun, rather than as an idiomatic use of the physical face.

6. ARM II 69 and VAT 327:11, Thontafelfund 143.

1. ARM II 69.

meaning 'to meet',<sup>1</sup> both here and in an Amarna letter.<sup>2</sup>

The context would allow this interpretation, but the lack of examples does not permit a definite interpretation.

The third example concerns an envoy of the governor of Sippar, of whom is written: (19) a-na <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU)-i-din-nam ... ge-ru-um-ma (20) pa-ni-šu sa-bi-it-ma a-na ša-pir Sippar(UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup>) (21) ú-ṭa-aḥ-ḥa-šu, 'he was near to Šamaš-idinam. He was a holder of his face. He brought him to the governor of Sippar' (BM 16963).<sup>3</sup> The verb is either a participle (as translated here) or a stative. In neither case is there an action involved, but rather the relationship between the two men is expressed. F.R. Kraus interprets the phrase as "(mit)genommen", 'he took (with)',<sup>4</sup> and AHw. tentatively as "sich kümmern um (?)"; 'to take care of'.<sup>5</sup> These occurrences of pāna(m) sabātu(m) are probably idiomatic but, due to the lack of evidence, more than this cannot be determined.

1. CAD S, p.29 (sub sabātu 8 pānu b) "meet me and I will go to Zimri-Lim." te-le-é'-e-mi
2. VAT 327 (Thontalfelfund 143): (10) bēlī(EN)-ni ki-i-me-e/ (11) ú pa-ni-šu-nu sa-bat // zu.zi.la.ma.an (12) ki-i-me-e i-na aš-ra-nu (13) la ú-wa-aḥ-ḥe-ru-ka, "O lord, meet (the messengers?) as soon as you can (they will not keep you there long)" CAD S (loc.cit.) and (30) ki-me-e pa-ni-šu-nu (31) ni-ša-ab-bat ú umār šiprī(DUMU.KINip-rī)-ia ... (33) a-ša-ap-par, "as soon as we meet them I will send you a messenger" (ibid.). Cf. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben, ed. R. Stiehle and H.E. Stier, I (1969), p.21, note on l.11, "jdñ.zu sehen bekommen, antreffen, bei jdm. vorsprechen", 'to receive someone, to talk, to meet, to call on someone', and VAB 2, p.677, l.11, "entgegennehmen" 'to receive'.
3. CT XLIII 49 (pl.XX).
4. AbB 1, 49 (p.41): 20.
5. P.1067 (sub sabātu(m) II 7).

F 'to cover, hide'<sup>1</sup>

1 כָּסָה פָּנִים , 'to cover the face'

In five of the eleven occurrences of כָּסָה פָּנִים the action is reflexive, with the instrument by which the face is covered explicit in the context of three.<sup>2</sup> The action in the other six verses is done by one person to another. In one of these, one person covers the face of another, with no instrument given.<sup>3</sup> In another passage, 'face' is metaphorically transferred from a person to the surface of a field, and so does not fall within the scope of this research.<sup>4</sup> A non-human agency performs the action in the other four verse.<sup>5</sup>

1.1 The two reflexive occurrences of כָּסָה פָּנִים in Ezekiel are to prevent seeing.<sup>6</sup> This is a parable to the people in order to literally show their future, and does not appear to have any further significance than this.<sup>7</sup>

1. Cf. III G, pp.83-84 for the verbs involved.

2. In Ezek.12:6,12 ( fifth cent. B.C., red. fourth cent. B.C.) no instrument is explicit. Those in which the instrument is given are: Gen.38:15 (J) - veil (cf.v.14); Isa.6:2 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.) -wings; Job.15:27 (fifth - third cent. B.C.) - fat. Since the latter is not a gesture, it is not of relevance.

3. Job 9:24 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

4. Prov.24:31 (post-exilic).

5. קָלָמָה - Jer.51:51 (D); Psa.69:8 (Davidic); נֶשֶׁת  
- Psa.44:16 (possibly pre-exilic - W); אֶפֶל - Job 23:  
17 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

6. Ezek.12:6: פָּנֵינוּ וְכָסָה...; v. 12: פָּנֵינוּ וְכָסָה...  
זָעַן in which זָעַן is read as זָעַן (זָעַן)  
in the LXX.

7. Some have taken this as an attempt at disguise, e.g.,  
G.A. Cooke, Ezekiel (1936, rep.1951), p.132; J.W. Wevers,

This is also what is meant in Job 9:24 in which Job tells of man's powerlessness before the all-powerful God who destroys all:

אָרֶץ נִתְּנָה בְּיַד-רָשָׁע פָּנֵי-שֹׁפְטֵיהָ

: 'the land is given into the hand of the wicked; he covers the face of its judges. If not (he), then who?' (Job 9<sup>24</sup>). Here the action is done to another, but the subject of the gesture is ambiguous.<sup>1</sup> Whoever performs it, the context shows that the action is undesirable. From the lack of further indication from the passage as to the meaning of the gesture, it is justifiable to suppose that the gesture is meant metaphorically to mean that the face was covered so that the judges would not see the truth and thus provide justice.<sup>2</sup>

Isaiah, describing the seraphim who stood above Yahweh in the temple, tells of their six wings:

שְׁשָׁתֵּיהֶם

: 'He covered his face with two, he covered his feet with two, and he flew with two' (Isa.6:2). It has been suggested that 'feet' is a euphemism for the private parts (cf. I Sam.24:4, Isa. 7:20) and that covering them was for the sake of modesty.<sup>3</sup>

.....

Ezekiel (1969), p.100. Cooke, p.130, refers to Gieseback who interprets the gesture as indicating grief, for which he refers to the literally synonymous קָפָה פָּנִים, 'cover the face', but grief is not explicit in the context of this passage. Cf. also Exod.34:33 in which Moses covered his face with a veil (רִיתָן עַל-פָּנָיו מִסִּינָה...) in order that the people would not be frightened by his shining face.

1. The subject could be Yahweh, with the following clause referring to his action of covering the faces of the judges. The subject could also be the 'wicked', רָשָׁע, with the following clause referring again to Yahweh who had given the land over to him.
2. So E. Dhorme, Job (1967), p.140.
3. So. e.g. P. Auvray, Isaïe 1-39 (1972), p.87; O. Kaiser, Isaiah 1-12 (1972), p.76.

The face could have been covered for this same reason or, more likely, it was covered in order not to look at the face of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup>

1.2 In the final reflexive passage, Tamar veiled herself and waited for Judah<sup>2</sup>: וַיִּצְאָה יְהוֹרָה וַיִּחַשְׁבֶּהָ קִזְוָנָה: (15)

:כִּי כִסְתָהּ פָּנֶיהָ: 'When Judah saw her, he took her for a prostitute because she had covered her face' (Gen.38).

That Tamar was taken for a prostitute while she was wearing a veil does not necessarily mean that the veil in some way signified that this was her vocation.<sup>3</sup> The veil itself could not signify that the woman was a prostitute since it does not do so in the only other passage in which the same phrase is used.<sup>4</sup> The verb הִתְעַלָּה, 'to wrap' in v.14 is not used in a similar context in the OT but it appears in the context to signify that Tamar put on other clothes in exchange for the widow's garments which she had taken off. It is not possible to determine whether this verb denotes the putting on of a distinctive garment marking the wearer

1. So Kaiser, *ibid.* Cf. also 3, p.119 and 5, p.121, n.2.

2. וַתִּסַּר בְּגָדֶיהָ אֶלְמִנוּתָהּ מֵעַלֶּיהָ וַתִּכְסֶּה בְּצַעֲרֶיהָ וַתִּתְעַלָּה וַתֵּשֶׁב, 'She stripped off her widow's clothes and covered herself with a veil, she wrapped herself and sat in the gateway ...' (Gen.38:14).

3. J. Skinner, in *Genesis* (1912), p.454, stated that this veil was a symbol of dedication to Ištar.

4. I.e. Gen.24:65 (also J) in which Rebekah, hearing that Isaac was approaching: וַתִּקַּח הַצִּעִרָה וַתִּתְעַלָּה ..., 'and she took the veil and covered herself'. Here the reflexive Hitpael-stem is used rather than the Qal-stem, from which the object, i.e. פָּנֶיהָ, may have been elided (but cf. n.2 above).

as a prostitute, although this is a possibility. All that can be said with certainty is that Judah was not able to see her face because he did not recognise her which, S.R. Driver wrote, was the reason she veiled herself in the first place.<sup>1</sup>

1.3 In three of the remaining four occurrences of **כָּסָה פָּנִים**, the face is covered by shame<sup>2</sup> or humiliation.<sup>3</sup> In all three of these poetic passages, the action is not a gesture but rather it is used metaphorically of shame which 'covered' the face or, in other words, 'overwhelmed' the speaker.

Darkness, which would be expected to produce fear since one would not be able to see ahead, covers the face in Job 23:17:

**כִּי-לֹא נִצְמַחְתִּי מִפְּנֵי-חֹשֶׁךְ וּמִפְּנֵי כָסָה-אַפֵּל**

'I am not dried up (i.e., from fear), because of darkness and because gloom overwhelmed me (i.e., covered my face).' Here it covers the face, causing inability to see and thus fear of the unknown, according to S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray in Job (1921, rep.1950), p.204. In none of these cases is **כָּסָה פָּנִים** an idiom.

1. Genesis, 9th ed. (1913), p.329.

2. The Psalmist says that Yahweh has made his people a subject of mockery among the surround people (cf. II E 1, p.71):  
**(16) כָּל-הַיּוֹם קִלְמַתִּי בְגִדִי וּבִשֶׁת פָּנֵי כִסְתָנִי: (17) מִקוֹל מְחַרְרֵי**  
**וּמִגִּדְרֵי מִפְּנֵי אֹרֶז וּמִתְנַקֵּם:** 'All day my disgrace is before me and shame has covered my face from the voice of the taunter and the reviler from the face of the enemy and avenger' (Ps. 44:16-17).

3. Jerusalem says: **בְּשֹׁנוּ כִּי-שָׁמְעֵנוּ חֲרָפָה כִּסְתָה כָלֵמָה פָּנֵינוּ כִּי בָּא זָרִים**  
**עַל-מִקְדָּשֵׁי בֵּית-יְהוָה:** 'We were shamed because we heard scorn, disgrace covered our faces because foreigners entered the holy places of the temple of Yahweh' (Jer.51:51). The Psalmist, speaking to Yahweh, says: **כִּי-עָלֶיךָ נִשְׂאתִי חֲרָפָה**  
**יְקַטְתָּה כָלֵמָה פָּנֵי:** 'For you I bore reproach, disgrace covered my face' (Ps. 69:8).



2                      חָפָה פָּנִים, 'to cover the face'

חָפָה פָּנִים occurs only in the narrative of Esther telling Ahasuerus of Haman's treachery. The king returned to find Haman on the bed with Esther and said: הֲגַם לְכַבֹּשׁ...

אֶת-הַמֶּלֶכָה עִמִּי בְּבֵית הַדְּבָר יֵצֵא מִפִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ וּפָנֵי הַמֶּן חָפָה:

"... Is he also assaulting the queen while I am in the house?". No sooner had the words left the king's mouth when they<sup>1</sup> covered Haman's face' (Esther 7:8 - second cent. B.C.).

It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of this gesture from only this one occurrence. L.B. Paton stated that this is an action which is done prior to execution and he cites for this Greek and Roman parallels.<sup>2</sup> Execution is indeed mentioned in the next verses but it is not ordered by the king until v.9. It does not seem likely that this preparation for an execution would have been carried out before it was ordered. Also, the Greek and Roman parallels, while of interest, would only be of relevance if an extremely late date for the book of Esther is accepted and if a direct influence could be shown.

There have been several emendations of the text proposed,<sup>3</sup> but as Moore states, there is no real trouble with the MT as it

1. I.e. the eunuchs of v.9.

2. Esther (1908), p.264 in which he cites Curtius VI 8,22 and Livy I 26,25.

3. E.g. C.A. Moore, in Esther (1971), p.72, discusses the proposed emendations of the verb to חָפָה - 'to be red' or קָרַח - 'to become pale'. He also notes D.N. Freedman's attempt to make this simple transitive form into a passive Niphal-stem by using the previous ך twice. What Freedman does not seem to have noted is that this is also the single occurrence with the object פָּנִים instead of ראש, thus being a different phrase.

now stands.<sup>1</sup> Since there is a similar idiom in **חָפָה רֹאשׁ** there is no need to emend this one, even though its true significance cannot be determined. The eunuchs could have covered Haman's face simply in order to subdue him until his fate was decided, but an idiomatic interpretation cannot be ruled out since there are no other occurrences of the gesture to be compared.

3                      **הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו** , 'to hide the face'

**הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו** occurs twenty-nine times, once with a man, i.e. Moses, as the subject,<sup>2</sup> and twice with the Suffering Servant as the subject.<sup>3</sup> In the other passages, the subject is Yahweh either explicitly<sup>4</sup> or implicitly.<sup>5</sup> In each case (except Isa.59:2, cf. n.5) the action is reflexive. In the first three verses the action is literal and is done in order not to see, or to hide from reviling. The other cases concern Yahweh's metaphorically hiding his face in order to not see and so disregarding sin or petitions. None of the occurrences involve an idiomatic meaning.

1. Ibid.

2. Ex.3:6 (P-Peake).

3. Isa.50:6; 53:3 (sixth cent. B.C.).

4. Deut.31:17,18; 32:20 (D); Isa.8:17 (eighth cent. B.C., red. third cent. B.C.); 54:8 (sixth cent. B.C.); 64:6 (third cent. B.C.); Jer.33:5 (D); Micah 3:4 (eighth cent. B.C.); Ps.10:11 (Solomonic); 13:2 (Davidic); 22:25 (Davidic); 27:9 (Solomonic); 30:8 (Solomonic); 44:25 (possibly pre-exilic); 51:11 (post-exilic, W); 59:18 (Davidic); 88:15 (pre-exilic); 102:3 (post-exilic); 104:29 (Davidic); 143:7 (Davidic); Job 13:24; 34:29 (fifth - third cent. B.C.).

5. Isa.59:2 (third cent. B.C.). Here the prophet says that it is not Yahweh who has changed, leading to his lack of help for them, but it is their own wrong-doings which separate them and **וְחַטֹּאתֵיכֶם הִסְתִּירוּ פָנָיו מִכֶּם מִשְׁמֹעַ**, 'and your sins hid the face from you from hearing'. The sins, being the cause of Yahweh's 'hiding the face' are here made the subject of the clause.

כָּפַר occurs only in the story of Jacob's reconciliation with his brother, Esau, to whom he sent servants with gifts. They were to say that Jacob was following: אַכְפְּרוּ פָנָיו בַּמִּנְחָה הַהִלֵּכֶת לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרֵי-כֵן אֶרְאֶה פָנָיו...

:אֲנִי יֵשָׂא פָנָי, 'I would cover his face with the gift which precedes me and afterwards I will see his face. Perhaps he will show me special favour (i.e., raise my face)<sup>1</sup>' (Gen.32: 21, J).

The verb כָּפַר is used most commonly in the context of sin and expresses the idea of atonement or literally 'covering over' (cf. p.83). This verse is also in the context of a wrong which was committed by Jacob against Esau and which he wants to put right before his brother seeks revenge. Here Jacob, indicated by the first person form of the verb, would perform the action upon Esau, designated by the pronominal suffix.

It has been suggested that the face is to be covered to prevent the offence from being seen<sup>2</sup> or to induce Esau to overlook it.<sup>3</sup> This involves a word play in which the face is covered so as not to see the sin but the sin is also covered, or atoned for. This double meaning of כָּפַר could well explain why this particular verb for 'to cover' was chosen, rather than

1. Cf. III B 1.2, pp.94-97.

2. BDB, p.497 (sub כָּפַר Pl. 1).

3. S.R. Driver, The Book of Genesis, 9th ed. (1913), p.293.

4. A play on פָּנִים is also indicated by the four times it appears and the two occurrences of its antonym אַחֲרֵי (י) in the verses.



6. pāna(m) katāmu(m), 'to cover the face'

The Akkadian pāna(m) katāmu(m) occurs in the context of an OB report (concerning enemies),<sup>1</sup> death,<sup>2</sup> and prayer.<sup>3</sup> It is also found in a broken omen text,<sup>4</sup> and is used in a description of Marduk's activities during the New Year festival, which is also broken.<sup>5</sup>

6.1 An OB letter records how Babdi-Lim had demanded a decision regarding the Suteens and asked why it had not been forthcoming. It then reads: pa-nu zi-e-ri ka-at-mu-ma, 'the enemies faces are covered' (ARM VI 57:8). Here the state is described, using the stative form of the verb, rather than the action of covering itself. J.-R. Kupper translated pānum here as "intentions",<sup>6</sup> which are hidden. This could be an extension in the use of pānum and be what is meant here, but the context does not allow this, or any other interpretation, to be proven, since it does not provide enough information. It appears idiomatic since it cannot be understood simply from the phrase itself.

1. ARM VI 57 (pl.57):8.
2. K.3399+:v.25, par. vi:14 in CT XV, pl.49 (Atra-hasis); SU 51/7:r.13 in JCS 8 (1954), p.91 (Gilgamesh) - NA.
3. VAT 8273:27 in KAR 43 (pl.75), par. VAT 8271:25 in KAR 63 (pl.111) - MA.
4. K.7669+:20 in CT XXXVIII, pl.1 (šumma ālū) - NA.
5. K.11004+:18 in ACh Second Supplement, LXXXII (pl.107).
6. ARMT VI, p.85.

6.2 When Gilgamesh found that his friend, Enkidu, was dead<sup>1</sup>:  
 (r.13) ... ik-tu-ma ib-ri kīma(GIM) kallati(E.GI<sub>4</sub>.A) pa-nu-uš,  
 'My friend veiled his face like a bride' (SU 51/7).<sup>2</sup> Veiling  
 in this text could not be a literal action since Enkidu was  
 dead.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear that the veiling was done by  
 someone else since the gesture is reflexive in form. The  
 passage shows that the veiling of a bride was common enough  
 to be used as a simile. It is not possible from this text to  
 determine the significance of the bride's veil, but it is  
 certain that it would not mean the same in the context of  
 marriage as when speaking of the dead being veiled. This

1. (r.12) u šū la inaša rēšišu, 'and he does not raise his  
 head'; cf. p.31, n.5.

2. JCS 8 (1954), p.91.

3. An enigmatic use of the phrase is found in the context of  
 death in an NA recension of Atra-ḫasis. A famine is described  
 as being so bad that the people resorted to cannibalism:  
 (24) bītu(E) il-ta-nu šanū(2U) i-re-ḫa-ma (25) ki-i  
buqlu(SE.MUNU<sub>4</sub>) me-te pa-nu-ši-na kat-mu (26) ni-šu i-na  
su-par-ke-e napišti(ZI)-bal-ta-at, 'One house consumed  
 another. Their face was veiled like dead malt. People lived  
 on the edge of life' (K.3399+, CT XV, pl.49). The stative  
 form of the verb describes the condition of the people rather  
 than the action of covering the face. The context shows that  
 the people were very close to death which is the apparent  
 reason for their 'veiled faces' but it is not at all clear  
 what the relationship is between 'dead malt' and the 'veiled  
 face'. The resemblance was probably physical but more than  
 that cannot be ascertained from this text. CAD K, p.299  
 (sub. katāmu 2) translates the sentence as: "Their (the  
 peoples') faces were drawn (like those of the dead)." This  
 seems only to ignore the problem since buqlu is disregarded  
 and left untranslated.

The New Years Festival text possibly sheds a bit of light  
 on the Atra-ḫasis passage when it speaks of Marduk: (18) ina  
ašī(E)-šū pāni(IGI.MEŠ)-šū kāt-mu, 'When he leaves, his face  
 is veiled' (K.11004+, ACh Second Supplement, LXXXII). This  
 state of a veiled face is replaced in the subsequent lines,  
 of which have the same beginning, with colours, e.g., black,  
 white, green and red. This strengthens the assumption that  
 the 'veiled face' is also an externally visible feature, and  
 probably also is a shade of colour. These two passages,  
 however, do not indicate that there is any symbolic or  
 idiomatic meaning to the state of pāna katmu.

could be an idiom, or euphemism, signifying death.

6.3 pāna katāmu also appears as part of an MA ritual in

which a man describes his father who goes to the Esagil:

ik-te-ru-ub ina sissikti(TUG.SÍG)-šú ik-ta-tam pa-nu-u-šú,

'He prays, with his hem he covers his face' (VAT 8273:27,

par. VAT 8271:25).<sup>1</sup> In this text the instrument of this

reflexive action is explicitly stated(ina sissikti).

'Covering the face' is part of the semantic field of karābu,

'to invoke blessings, pray',<sup>2</sup> and could be a gesture which

in fact accompanies the prayer. The order of the verbs,

however, weakens this interpretation, since the covering, if

it were a preparation for prayer, would be expected to be

listed first. If the action is not a part of the ritual of

prayer, it is not possible to determine what it does mean

in this context.

7 pāna kullulu, 'to veil the face'

pāna kullulu is found in the context of mourning<sup>3</sup> and  
of a prayer to a goddess.<sup>4</sup>

7.1 A Seleucid lament reads: (3) mārat(DUMU.ÍI) Uruk(UNUG<sup>ki</sup>)  
tab-ku mārat(DUMU.ÍI) A-ga-de<sup>ki</sup> ta-nam-bi (4) šá mārat(DUMU.ÍI)  
Laraq(UD.UD.AG<sup>ki</sup>) ina sissikti(TUG.SÍG)-šú kul-/lu/-lu-ma

1. KAR 43, par.KAR 63.

2. Cf. CAD K, pp.193-198 (sub karābu).

3. K.890:3,11, translit. only, in BA 2 (1894), p.634 - NA.

4. PSBA XXIII (1901), pl. following, p.192 - Sel.

pāni(IGI)-šú, 'the daughter of Uruk weeps, the daughter of Agade laments, the face of the daughter of Larag is covered with her hem' (Rm IV:97).<sup>1</sup> The verb, in the form of an adjective, describes the covered state of the woman and does not itself convey the subject of the action. Since the other women were the subjects of the other verbs, so the woman from Larag probably covered her own face. The context indicates that this gesture is a form of lament and thus symbolic of grief.<sup>2</sup>

7.2 The phrase also occurs twice in an NA text addressed to a woman who is compared to a boat that has been put adrift: (3) ka-lu-la pa-ni-ki-i nāri(ÍD) <sup>uru</sup>Aššur te-bi-ri, 'Your face is veiled, the river of Aššur you crossed' (K.890).<sup>3</sup> This stative verb does not indicate who covered the woman's face and the context does not indicate what it means. The second time pāna kullulu occurs in the passage, the context is clearer. When Bēlit was asked for aid<sup>4</sup>: (11) <sup>d</sup>Be-lit ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) /la ta/-aš-mu-ni tuk-tal-li-la pa-ni-ša, 'The lady of the Gods did not listen to me, she veiled her face' (K.890).<sup>5</sup> Here the goddess covers her own face, as is shown by the agreement of the verbal prefix and the

1. Ibid.

2. S. Langdon in SBP, p.235 interpreted the gesture as a sign of disgrace, but this does not appear to be based on any explicit reference to disgrace in the context.

3. BA 2, p.634.

4. (10) ... e-ti-ri i-na bu-ul-ti, 'save (me) in my distress' (K.890, *ibid.*).

5. Ibid.



pronominal suffix. This shares the semantic field with not listening to a prayer. The face is covered so as not to see the plight of the petitioner and so not have to respond (cf. F 3, p.119).

8            pāna arāmu, 'to stretch over the face'

pāna arāmu occurs in several contexts including omens and extispicy texts,<sup>1</sup> incantations,<sup>2</sup> a curse,<sup>3</sup> a lament,<sup>4</sup> and in the context of fear in an epic.<sup>5</sup>

Part of the curse against those who might remove an NA stele is: (r.11) Ṣîn(XXX) bēlu(EN) rabû(GAL<sup>u</sup>) mu-nam-mir uk [ ? ] (r.12) ik-le-tu pa-ni-šú li-ram-ma [ ? ] (r.13) ù itta(GISKIM)-šú li-lam-min-ma, 'May Sin, the great lord, the luminary [       ] stretch darkness over his face and make his

1. E.g. K.3670+:8 in Boissier Choix I, p.92; K.3970:11 in CT XXVII, pl.21 (Izbu) - NA; AO 6457:45 in TCL VI 3 (pl. VIII) - Sel. In these texts there is no gesture involved but rather the state of the omen covered by a membrane.

2. LB 1001:5-6 in BiOr XI (1954), pl.II - OB; K.2728+:170 in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.170 - NA. In both incantations, 'covering the face' is one of several actions which are to be done to keep sorcerers or demons from casting their evil spells. The gesture does not appear to have any idiomatic or symbolic significance but is only of ritualist importance.

3. K.2564:4.12 in Bauer Asb., pl.21 - NA.

4. K.8396 (and par.):81 (Ludlul II) in Lambert BWL, pl.5 - NA.

5. K.2360+:11 in Gilgamesh IX ii (pl.35) - NA.

sign bad' (K.2564).<sup>1</sup> As part of a curse, which is designed to strike fear into the heart of any who might remove the stele, the covering of the face of the guilty person with darkness by the god must produce fear as well. It is not clear from the text that there is any symbolic or idiomatic meaning attached to the actions.<sup>2</sup> In each of the cases the subject of the verb has completely gained control of the person involved so the phrase pāna arāmu in this context appears to mean 'to overwhelm'.

9 būna arāmu, 'to stretch over the face'

būna arāmu only occurs in an MA hymn and is also used in the context of fear<sup>3</sup>: (r.20) e-du-ru-ma kalu(DÙ)-šú-nu za-a-a-ru (r.21) me-lam-mu ek-du-tu bu-ni-šú-nu e-tar-mu (r.22) ana Aš-šur ik-nu-šú ka-liš /bur/-šá-nu, 'All of them feared the enemy, the fierce, terror-inspiring radiance stretched over their faces, all over in the mountains they submitted to Aššur' (VAT 9940).<sup>4</sup> The similarity of context to pāna arāmu (cf. 8, pp.126-127) suggests that the same meaning of 'to overwhelm' is conveyed by this variant of the idiom in Mari (cf. 13, p.117).

1. Bauer Asb., pl.21.

2. Fear is explicitly the subject of the clause when Gilgamesh was faced with the terrifying scorpion-men: (10) i-mur-šú-nu-ti-ma Gilgameš(GIŠ.GIN.MAŠ) pu-luḫ-ta (11) u ra-šub-ba-ta i-te-rim pa-ni-šú, 'When Gilgamesh saw them, fear and terror stretched over his face' (K.23b0+, Gilgamesh IX ii), while in K.8396+:81 (Lambert BWL pl.5), the subject is death, i.e., (80) /mi?-i/b-šu šuk-šú-du ú-nap-paq ma-aq-t/i-i/š (81) /X/-du-ud mu-tu i-te-rim pa-ni-ia, 'A stroke has taken me, I choke like a fallen one, / death stretched over my face'.

3. VAT 9940:r.21 in LKA 63 (p.85).

4. Ibid.

Chapter IVParts of the Head

## A

## The Forehead

The Hebrew מִצְחָא designates the forehead of a human being.<sup>1</sup> It occurs once as the object of the verb הִקָּה in literal use, with no symbolic significance.<sup>2</sup> The Akkadian pūtu(m) (SAG.KI) is used for the forehead of both man and beast.<sup>3</sup> Its use also extended to include the front side of objects,<sup>4</sup> as well as a prepositional use.<sup>5</sup>

1 pūta našū, 'to raise the forehead'

pūta našū occurs in a number of NB legal texts which involve the assumption of a legal obligation.<sup>6</sup> An example of the rare, finite form of the verb is in a loan of bricks by Nabû-šūma-iškun to Nabû-mukin-zēri which were to be replaced by a certain date: (9) ki-i la id-dan-nu 1 ma-na

1. Cf. BDB, pp.594-595 (sub מִצְחָא); KB<sup>3</sup>, pp.589-590 (sub מִצְחָא).

2. I.e. I Sam.17:49: וַיִּקָּה אֶת־מִצְחָאֵי דָוִד וַיִּשְׁבֹּת  
וַיִּשְׁבֹּת אֶת־מִצְחָאֵי דָוִד וַיִּשְׁבֹּת

3. Cf. AHw., p.884 (sub pūtu(m) A); Holma Körperteile, p.13.

4. Cf. AHw., p.884 (loc.cit., B).

5. Cf. AHw., pp.884-885 (loc.cit., C).

6. E.g. IM 650801:4 in Bagh. Mitt. 5 (1970), 14 (p.286);  
IM 650841:31 in ibid., 17 (p.289) and IV:7-8 in ibid.  
(p.292); IM 65073:4 (par.W.20032, 6:5) in ibid. (p.294);  
IM 65072:3-4 in ibid., 18 (p.293); HS 552:12 in TuM 2-3,  
108 (pl.36); HS 578 in ibid., 134 (pl.44); VAT 9188:4-b  
in AnOr 8, 6 (pl.7\*); GCBC 414:2-5 in GCCI I 260 (pl.XXXV).

kaspan(KU.BABBAR) ku-mu (10) mi-ti-tu u ik-bi šá ana  
muhhi(UGU) <sup>Id</sup>Nabû(AG)-šūma(MU)-iškun(GAR<sup>un</sup>) (11) na-du-ú  
<sup>Id</sup>Ūmišam(UD.ŠEŠ.KAM) (12) ... šá pu-ut <sup>Id</sup>Nabû(AG)-  
mukin(DU)-zēri(NUMUN) iš-šu-u (13) a-na <sup>Id</sup>Nabû(AG)-šūma(MU)-  
iškun(GAR<sup>un</sup>) i-nam-din, 'If he does not give [them], 1 mina  
of silver in place of losses and claims(?), which are made  
against Nabû-šūma-iškun, Ūmišam, who raised the forehead of  
Nabû-mukin-zēri, will give them to Nabû-šūma-iškun' (HS 552).<sup>1</sup>

The use of the preterite in this stresses the formation  
of the relationship between the two parties, as do the  
other temporal forms of the verb. The exact nature of this  
relationship is shown by the payment of Nabû-mukin-zēri's  
debt for him by Ūmišam, who, it is stated, was the one who  
had 'raised the forehead' of the former. The fact of his  
'raising the forehead' in this instance must be the reason  
why the responsibility for the debt was assumed by Ūmišam.  
The only other justification which could be put forward for  
the inclusion of the phrase pūta našû in the tablet would  
be the further identification of Ūmišam, but this would have  
been better done in the regular Babylonian use of the  
patronymic. In this case, it is not the actual replacement  
of the bricks in kind but rather the monetary reimbursement  
for the loss which is given, so the phrase cannot be under-  
stood as involving substitution in its strict sense. The

1. TuM 2-3, 108.

best English translation of the idiom appears to be 'to be responsible for'.<sup>1</sup> The English 'to guarantee' is not adequate here since the form of the idiom has Nabû-mukin-zēri as object of the phrase, i.e., the one whose 'forehead is raised', but it is not he but his obligation which is being guaranteed.

1. It was first understood to mean 'to stand as surety for' by J. Oppert in Documents juridique de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée (1897), pp.200-201. B. Meissner quotes F.E. Peiser as understanding the phrase as 'to take a loan' in ZA 4 (1889), p.66. (I personally could not find this interpretation by Peiser but it must have been made prior to 1890 for in that year he translated the idiom "die Garantie bringen", 'to bring the guarantee for' in Aus den babylonischen Rechtsleben I (1890), p.5). Meissner himself interpreted pūt as a preposition meaning 'for'. He translates the phrase išten pūt šani našī as "einer trägt die Verpflichtung des anderen", 'one bears the obligation of the other' in ibid., p.71. E. Dhorme translates the phrase as "devenir sa caution, garantir", 'to become his surety, to guarantee' in L'emploi, p.74. V. Marx understands the phrase as "haften für", 'to be liable for' in BA 4 (1902), p.3, while A. Ungnad translates it as "to be responsible for" in Selected Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period (1908), p.67. P. Koschaker read the phrase as the terminus technicus for "bürgen", 'to stand as guarantor for' in Bürgschaftsrecht, p.33 and translates A pūt B našī as "A ist für B Bürge", 'A is guarantor for B', where again the preposition 'for' is the word pūt in ibid., p.213. R. Dougherty in AJSL 46 (1930), p.74 and J. Snyder in JCS 9 (1955), p.25 both have the same translation as Ungnad. AHw. translates the phrase as "garantieren", 'to guarantee' on p.7b3. (sub našû(m) II G 1.4 c) and CAD as "to assume the responsibility for" in E, p.405 (sub eṭēru B 1 c).

There are a number of tablets containing a form of pūta našû which designate the specific obligation by the phrase pūt X našû,<sup>1</sup> 'raiser of the forehead of X', i.e., 'the one who is responsible for X', in which X is the specific obligation, e.g.: interruption (batlu) of delivery of grain,<sup>2</sup> tending a field,<sup>3</sup> disputation regarding a sale,<sup>4</sup> the flight or death of a slave,<sup>5</sup> or repayment.<sup>6</sup> In each of these cases, the subject of pūt X našû does not have the original obligation, but is called upon only if the first party defaults in his responsibility.<sup>7</sup>

1. Stative of the verb.

2. (4) ... pūt (5) batlu ina Eanna išakkanna (6) <sup>I</sup>Bēl-zāri ... našši, 'Bēl-zāri is the one who is responsible for (i.e., is raised of forehead regarding) the interruption in the Eanna which he will cause' (VAT 9188, AnOr 8, 6).
3. (5) /p/u-ut he-ru-tu šā eqli(A.ŠA) a-na lab-ka he-ru-tu (6) har-ri u a-rit-ti na-šu-ú šā mi-sir (7) u ak-kul-la-tú šā-qu-tu šā mē(A.MEŠ) <sup>I</sup>Bēl(EN)-ahhē(SEŠ.MEŠ)-riba(SU) (8) u <sup>I</sup>Nabû(AG) -ētir(SUR) na-šu-ú ... (9) pu-ut e-pe-šu (10) šā i-qa-ri na-šu-ú, 'Bēl-ahhē-riba and Nabû-ētir are responsible for (i.e., their foreheads are raised regarding) the digging of the fields for moisture, the digging of the harri - and arittu - canals, the raising of the property and the clouds, the irrigation with the water. They are responsible for (i.e., their foreheads were raised as regards) making a wall (HS 578, IuM 2-3, 134).
4. E.g. pūt sēbī u paqqirānu našû, 'he is responsible for (i.e., is raised of forehead regarding) rebellion and complaint' in 76-11-17, 880:6-8 in Nbk 346 (p.204).
5. E.g. pūt helēqu u mitūtu ša Barīki-ilāni našû, 'they are responsible for (i.e., their forehead is raised as regards) fleeing or death of Barīki-ilāni' (76-11-17, 880, Nbk 346).
6. pūt etēru našû, 'he assumes responsibility for (i.e., his forehead is raised regarding) repaying', is used of money, e.g. VAT. 379:12,13 in VAS IV 170 (p.55), and grain, e.g. VAT 8459:10 in AnOr 9, 11 (pl.36\*).
7. P. Koschaker in Bürgerschaftsrecht, p.218, n. 39 identifies another phrase which he includes among these dealing with

2 pūta maḥāsu, 'to strike the forehead'

pūta maḥāsu occurs in several legal texts from the Kassite<sup>1</sup> and NB periods,<sup>2</sup> in addition to a number of texts from Nuzi.<sup>3</sup>

2.1 In three Kassite texts, pūta maḥāsu is found in the context of a man imprisoning another.<sup>4</sup> (In one case it was

.....

guarantees. This is pūta nadānu for which he cites several examples. In one of the examples, i.e. 77-4-17, 19:3 in Nbk. 86 (p.54), the verb of the phrase is damaged. F.E. Peiser, in discussing the text in Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben I (1890), p.12, parallels the use of the phrase in it to three other Nbk texts: 83, 342 and 366. All of these have the verb našû rather than nadānu. His paralleling these texts leads one to believe that he felt that Nbk 36 also contained the verb našû.

Two other references given by Koschaker (84-2-11, 86:5-7 in Camb. 1, p.3 and Moldenke 24 (p.35):6-7) have the final syllable of the verb using the sign 𒀭 which E. Ziemer in BA 3 (1897), p.477, prefers to read as a form of ši, which does have forms which are quite similar to this. This would then render the verb našû and, in Moldenke 24, results in the phrase pūt etēru ... našû which has already been noted above (cf. p. 131, n.6).

Only in one case (82-9-18, 3929:4-5 in Evetts Ner. 41 (p.57)) can the verb positively be identified as nadānu, and then only because it is written as a Sumerogram with a phonetic complement, i.e., SUM in. Even this does not provide a clear example of the phrase pūt ... nadānu, since the reading of pūt is not clear.

1. E.g. AO 4070:6 in TCL IX 48 (pl.XXI); CBM 6613:6 in BE XIV 11 (pl.7); CBM 12908:6 in ibid., 135 (pl.51).
2. E.g. YBC 3539:22 in YOS III 133 (pl.L); U 17238, 45:6 in UET IV 80 (pl. XXXVII); 78-5-31, 5:3-4 in Nbk. 24 (pl.15); 76-11-17, 382:4 in ibid., 134 (pl.84).
3. E.g. SMN 2118:5 in AASOR XVI 29 (p.27, translit. only); JEN 124:3-4 in JEN 147 (pl.CXL); SMN 90:9 in HSS IX 68 (pl.XLVIII); SMN 420:11 in ibid., 72 (pl.L), and passim in Nuzi texts.
4. E.g., CBM 12980, BE XIV 135: (1) Minā-egû-ana-šamaš ... (3) ina kīli Amēl-Marduk bēlišu (4) iklāšuma, 'Amēl-Marduk, his lord, imprisoned Minā-egû-ana-šamaš'; CBM 6613, ibid.,

explicitly a debt which led to the incarceration.<sup>1)</sup> One text continues: (5) <sup>I</sup>Ta-kal-ti-<sup>d</sup>Adad(IM) ma-   ?    (6) pu-us-su im-ba-aš-ma (7) i-na arḫi(ITU) Simani(SIG<sub>4</sub>) 1 lītu(AB.GAL) (8) i-li-qa-am-ma (9) i-nam-di-in (10) ul it-ta-di-in-ma (11) 2 lītū(AB.GAL) <sup>I</sup>Ta-kal-ti-<sup>d</sup>Adad(IM) (12) i-ta-nap-pal, 'Takalti-Adad       struck his forehead. In Simani he will take 1 cow and give it. (If) he does not give it, Takalti-Adad will indemnify two cows( (CBM 6613).<sup>2</sup> In this case a third party performed some action, signified by pūssu imḥašma, which resulted in the prisoner's release. The release is implicit in this text since the prisoner is expected to be able to make a payment.<sup>3</sup> If the payment is not forthcoming, the third party must pay a forfeit.<sup>4</sup> The

.....

11: (1) /XX/ti/X/ (2) ina bīt <sup>d</sup>Bēl-/X(X)/ ... (4) iklāšu/ma/, 'He imprisoned    in the house of Bēl-  '; AO4070, TCL IX 48: (1) <sup>I</sup>Ša-<sup>d</sup>Bana ... <sup>I</sup>Ilī-<sup>d</sup>Nabû ... (4) ina kīli iklāšuma, 'Ilī-Nabû imprisoned Ša-Bana'.

1. AO 4070, ibid.: (3) ki aššum(MU) 3+2 (GUR) 1 (NIGIDA) 2 (BÁN) SE.GUR 5 (SILA).
2. BE XIV 11.
3. Release is explicit in the two other texts, i.e. AO 4070, TCL IX 48: (5) <sup>d</sup>Amurru(KAR.GAL)-ēriš(APIN<sup>iš</sup>) ... (6) pu-us-su im-ba-aš-ma (7) ki(?) X-ma ultu(TA) ki-li ū-še-ši-šu; CBM 12980, BE XIV 135: (4) ... Arkāt(ŠUD)-Nergal(UGUR) ... (6) pu-us-su im-ba-aš-ma (7) ū-še-ši-šu. The latter text also has a payment to be made by the former prisoner, i.e.: (8) 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> šiqil(GIN) burāšam(GUŠKIN) iliqqama (9) ana <sup>I</sup>Marduk-rišūa (10) inamdin.
4. In CBM 12980, ibid., the third party is to see that the prisoner and his wife are returned to the first party, i.e., (11) u <sup>I</sup>Minā-eqû-ana-šamaš (12) u /XXXXX/ (13) aššassu(DAM. A.NI) (14) iliqqamma (15) ana Amēl(LÚ)-<sup>d</sup>Marduk(AMAR.UTU) (16) inamdin.



third party must be assuming this obligation of payment in his action of 'striking the forehead'.<sup>1</sup>

A.T. Clay interpreted the idiom pūta mahāsu by "to make an agreement",<sup>2</sup> which is general enough to be correct in these texts. Others have interpreted the idiom as dealing more specifically with 'standing surety'.<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the best interpretation although the exact nature of the responsibility is not clear, since in one case the third party is to pay an indemnity while in another he is responsible for returning the prisoner to prison.

2.2 In the Nuzi texts that contain a form of the idiom pūta mahāsu there is no mention of imprisonment. The context is rather that of assuming an obligation such as taking out a loan.<sup>4</sup> In each case the māhiṣ pūti, 'striker of the forehead', assumes responsibility for a default on the part of the obligated party.

1. It is not possible from these texts to determine whose forehead was being struck, since the pronominal suffix -šu could equally well refer to the prisoner or to the third party himself.
2. BE XIV, p.37.
3. E.g. ASAW 64/4, p.34 n.14, "bürgte für ihn", 'stood surety for him'; Bürgschaftsrecht, p.63, "wir bürgen wechselseitig", 'we reciprocally stood surety'; CAD A II, p.379 (sub asū 7 f), "assumed guarantee for him"; CAD K, p.359 (sub kīlu 1 a 1'), "he (acted surety for him)".
4. E.g. IM 6820 (unpubl.; thanks to A.R. Millard); SMN 527 in HSS XIV 527 (p.8, translit.); SMH 2198 in HSS XVI 238 (p.74 - translit.) and passim in Nuzi texts. There are also obligations regarding: the terbatu in marriage texts, e.g. SMN 2597 in HSS XIX 89 (pl.140-141) and probably AJSL 47 (1931), p.281 (translit. only); the freedom from lien (dīna) of a field in an exchange document, e.g. JENu 425 in JEN 263 (pl. CCXLIV); the freedom of a slave from claim in a sale, e.g. SMN 645 in HSS IX 7 (pl.XIII-XIV) and SMN 3660 in HSS XIX 124 (pl.178-179); and the compensation in case of delinquency in tidennūtu-agreement, e.g. SMN 2118 in AASOR XVI 29 (p.27) and SMN 365 in ibid., 60 (pp.41-42).

An example of this arrangement which explains the function of the mābiš pūti is a tidennūtu document in which Zilipkušub<sup>1</sup> has given himself as tidennu into the service of Ūzna. If he misses a day of work, he must compensate her by paying 1 mina of copper.<sup>2</sup> Zilipkušub says: šum-ma a-na-ku la aš-pa-ku-mi (2b) ù mi'ú-uz-na mārē<sup>meš</sup> ù mārāti<sup>meš</sup> (27) ù aššata<sup>ta</sup>-ia i-ša-bat ù kaspā<sup>meš</sup> (28) ù ú-ri-bul-šu a-na mi'ú-uz-na (29) umallū bītu<sup>bi</sup> ša I<sup>I</sup>zi-ik-ku-šu-uh (30) a-na I<sup>I</sup>zi-lip-ku-šu-uh ma-biš pu-ti, 'If I do not remain Ūzna will seize my sons and daughters and wife. The money and compensation to Ūzna they will pay in full. The household of Zilipkušub are the striker of the forehead for Zilipkušub (SMN 365).<sup>3</sup> The mābiš pūti, which is clearly idiomatic in this context, is said to be the household of the debtor.<sup>4</sup> They are the ones who assume responsibility for

.....

For a discussion of the tidennūtu-agreement, see B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi (1973).

1. The name is in this form in ll.10,15,20,23,25 & 30, in the form Zilikkušu in l.2 and in the form Zikkušub in l.29. These are simply variant forms rather than three different people.
2. (19) šumma šiprešu ša mi'ūzna (20) 1 ūmi I<sup>I</sup>zilipkušub (21) ēzib 1 mana erō (22) urihul ša ina ūmi u (23) ūmi I<sup>I</sup>zilipkušub (24) ana mi'ūzna umallā, 'If Zilipkušub abandons his work for Ūzna for one day, Zilipkušub shall pay Ūzna in full one mina of copper as compensation for each day' (SMN 365, AASOR XVI 60, translit. only).
3. Ibid.
4. The household is apparently delineated in the previous lines as sons, daughters and wife. This appears to be a better interpretation of 'household' than that of B. Eichler, op. cit., pp.29,128, where he interprets it as "estate" or "buildings". The Sumerogram is É.HI, with the impersonal plural, but bītu is at times used of the people of the household (cf. e.g. CAD B, pp.293-295 (sub bitu b), where the text from Nuzi has É.MEŠ, p.294.(loc.cit. b h), and it is the family who assumes the obligation for repayment.

payment of the debt in case of default.<sup>1</sup>

P. Koschaker published an extensive study of this phrase, and others, as they occur in laws dealing with security.<sup>2</sup> He did not, however, understand the phrase as a symbolic gesture, but understood the word pūtu, 'the forehead', as a preposition, 'for'. This prepositional use of the parts of the body is common in Akkadian (e.g., ina libbi, ina mubbi, ana pāni, etc.). He also stated that the 'hand' was to be understood as an elided object of the phrase 'X māhiṣ pūti ša Y' as meaning 'X (the guarantor) strikes the hand of Z (the creditor), for Y (the debtor)'.<sup>3</sup> In Koschaker's interpretation, only the guarantor (explicitly) and the creditor (implicitly) are involved in the action.

E. Cassin later made a study of some occurrences of the phrase in the Nuzi tablets.<sup>4</sup> She also interpreted the phrase as relating to security,<sup>5</sup> but used differently than Koschaker had understood. She considered that the guarantor and the debtor were involved, but that there was no actual action of

1. There is also a tidennūtu-text in which a person is his own māhiṣ pūti, i.e., SMN 2118, AASOR XVI 29.

2. Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht (1911).

3. Ibid., pp.221-223.

4. 'Le caution a Nuzi', RA 34 (1937), pp.154-168.

5. Ibid., p.154.

striking involved in the phrase.<sup>1</sup> She stated that the phrase 'X māhiṣ pūti ša Y' means that 'X becomes the guarantor for Y'. Translators of, and commentators upon, the relevant texts generally agree with the interpretation that the phrase pūta maḥāṣu means 'to guarantee',<sup>2</sup> as does the AHw.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these documents in which one person is aided by a māhiṣ pūti, who is either a single person or several people, there are a number of texts, all grain loans, in which a single contract is drawn up for a number of men in common.<sup>4</sup> E. Cassin noted this sort of contract and posited that it was necessitated when each person individually did not have enough of value to secure a loan.<sup>5</sup>

An unpublished document illustrates this kind of text. Several men take a grain loan, saying they will repay the debt after the harvest: (13) ... amēlūti(LÚ.MEŠ) a-na amēlūti(LÚ.MEŠ) (14) ma-ḥi-iṣ pu-ta ma-an-nu i-na līb-bi-šu-nu (15) ša aš-bu še'am(ŠE.MEŠ) a-na Ši-il-wa-te-šup (16) ú-ma-al-la, 'The men are to the(other)men a guarantor. Whoever among them remains will repay the barley in full to Šilwatešup' (IM 6820).<sup>D</sup>

1. Ibid., p.155.

2. B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi, p.127 and passim. Cf. A.T. Clay in BE XIV, p.37, who translates the phrase in CBM 12908:6 as simply "to make an agreement".

3. AHw., p.580 (sub maḥāṣu(m) 1 d ).

4. E.g. IM 6820 (unpublished; thanks to A.R. Millard); Bu.91-5-9, 296 in CT II, pl.21; SMN 758 in HSS IX 69 (pl.XLVIII); SMN 684 in ibid., 78 (pl. LIII), and passim in Nuzi texts.

5. RA 34 (1937), p.165.

6. Unpublished; thanks to A.R. Millard.

This tablet, and similar ones, is apparently a partnership in which each person is responsible for the amount of the loan of any other in case of a default. There is no third party involved in this group of contracts, since each is 'standing as the guarantor'<sup>1</sup> of the other, which is the role undertaken by the third party in the previous documents discussed.

māhiš pūti is clearly a common idiomatic expression with a fixed meaning and form during the Nuzi period since, at times, the scribe only wrote part of the idiom.<sup>2</sup>

The NB documents in which a form of pūta mābāšu occurs concern loans<sup>3</sup> and a contract to guard someone.<sup>4</sup> All that they say is that one person is the māhiš pūti for another, without providing any other information either explicitly or implicitly. It is reasonable to assume that the idiom has the same meaning of 'guarantor' as it had in Nuzi, since the contexts are similar and there is no evidence to the contrary. In one case, the idiom is apparently treated as an ideogram, with the plural logogram added.<sup>5</sup>

1. This phrase is used advisedly as it is found in Akkadian: (7) 1Zi-il-ba-ma-an-na (8) a-na ma-hi-is pu-ti a-na kasap(KU.BABBAR)-šu (9) ša a-ba-ti-ia it-ta-ziz-ma, AJSL 47 (1930), p.281.

2. I.e. ma-hi-is pu: e.g. JENu 150:12 in JEN V 549 (p. DIII); SMN 12:9 in HSS IX 73.

3. U 17238, 45 in UET IV 80 (pl. XXXVII); 78-5-31, 5 in Nbk. 24 (p.15).

4. 76-11-17, 382 in Nbk. 134 ( p.84 ).

5. I.e. ma-hi-is pu-ut MEŠ: YBC 3539:22 in YOS III 133(pl.L).

The phrase pūta nakû occurs once, in a sexual omen, i.e., K.126+:14 in CT XXXIX, pl.44. The verb is possibly a West Semitic loan word (cf. AHW., p.724 (sub nakû II) and p.53 above). The action in this text appears literal and so does not make a contribution here.

3 pūta(m) emēdu(m), 'to incline the forehead'<sup>1</sup>

pūta(m) emēdu(m) is found in Kassite legal documents concerning people who are imprisoned (i.e., kalû).<sup>2</sup> A representative text concerns five imprisoned slaves belonging to Enlil-kidini: (9) <sup>Id</sup>Nin-ib-ba-ni ... (10) û <sup>I</sup>Ba-an-ab(ŠEŠ)-a-ni (11) a-na šu-ši-i amēlūti(NAM.LÚ.LUX) (12) ša <sup>Id</sup>En-lil ki-di-ni iz-zi-zu (13) û a-ka-an-na iq-bu-ú (14) amēlūti(NAM.LÚ.LUX) li-ši li-ru-ub (15) a-na ha-la-qi pu-ut-ni (16) ni-te-me-ed iq-b[û/-/û] (17) amēlūti(NAM.LÚ.LUX) i-hal-l[i-iq] (18) [XXX] amēlūti(NAM.LÚ.LUX) (19) [XX] a-na <sup>Id</sup>En-lil ki-di-ni (20) [ni-nam]-din, 'Ninib-bani, ... and Ban-aḫani stood for the release of the retainers of Enlil-kidini. They said thus: "May the men go out and come in. Regarding flight, we will incline our foreheads". They said, "If the men flee, [XXX] men [XXX] to Enlil-kidini we will give"' (CBM 12906).<sup>3</sup>

1. The verb emēdu has a range of meanings including 'to lean against, take refuge, load, etc.' (cf. CAD E, pp.138-147 (sub emedu); AHW., pp.211-213 (sub emēdu(m)). The above interpretation denotes 'leaning' without making explicit if an object was 'leaned against' or not, since the texts do not make clear what the literal gesture itself entailed.

2. E.g. CBM 12906:15-16 in BE XIV 2 (pl.2); CBS 7732:8 in PBS VIII/2 161 (pl.CI); HS 2391:17 in ASAW 64/4, 10 (pl. 32, translit. only) - all slaves; HS 155:30' in ibid., 14 (pl.48 - translit. only) - an unknown person. In the last text, there is no explicit mention of imprisonment, but it can be inferred from the immediately following verb, uṣēšišu, 'he obtained his release'.

3. BE XIV 2.

Here the prisoners are freed on account of the two men.<sup>1</sup> They promised to return some slaves<sup>2</sup> if the freed slaves fled. The two men 'incline their own foreheads' in relation to the flight (ana balāqi) rather than in relation to the release (ana šūšī), which is designated by a different verb (izzizu).<sup>3</sup>

The idiom pūta emēdu has been translated "to guarantee" for this and the other texts.<sup>4</sup> This causes problems in this text since the flight is not guaranteed at all, but just the opposite, so the negative, i.e., 'not to flee', had to be added.<sup>5</sup> In order to avoid this addition, the translation 'to accept responsibility' is better, and fits well in each text. Here the two men were setting themselves up as the parties responsible for the flight if it did take place, while in the other texts the subject of the phrase was assuming responsibility for the person involved by inclining his own forehead.<sup>6</sup>

1. Cf. CBS 7732, PBS VIII/2 161: (8) /pu7-us-su i-mi-/i/d-ma (9) /ū-še/-ši-sū, 'he inclined his forehead, obtaining his release'. So also HS 2391:17, ASAW 64/4, 10 and HS 155:31' - 32', ibid., 14.
2. They could have been responsible for the return of the same men, or for a replacement by others, but the broken text makes this impossible to ascertain.
3. Cf. p.138, n.1. The other texts do not explicitly state in relation to what the 'forehead is inclined', but flight is mentioned in two of them, i.e., CBS 7732:10, PBS VIII/2 161 and HS 2391:23, ASAW 64/4, 10.
4. Cf. Koschaker Bürgschaftsrecht, p.63 "wir bürgen wechselseitig für einander", 'we reciprocally give security for each other'; ASAW 64/4, p.32 "verbürgte sich/garantierte", 'gave security for/guaranteed'; AHW., p.212 (sub emēdu(m) G 5), p.884 (sub pūtu(m) A 2 b) "garantieren", 'to guarantee'; CAD E, p.143 (sub emēdu 3 n).

4 pūta(m) kullu(m), 'to hold the forehead'

pūta(m) kullu(m) occurs in the context of omens,<sup>1</sup> and a letter.<sup>2</sup> The letter records a message from Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Adad which he is to relay to the mārī(DUMU.MEŠ)-yamin saying: (11) ... aš-šum /i/-na ri-tim i-ta-[/X]-[/t]u / ? / (12) a-na pu-ut ma-tim ku-ul-lim e-le-[/e], 'because of the pasturage, / / I went up to hold the forehead of the land' (ARM I 43).<sup>3</sup> The context is too broken to provide

.....

5. Cf. AHw., p.212 (loc.cit.) and CAD E (loc.cit.).

6. The pronominal suffix -šu, i.e., pūssu, in the other three texts refer to the subject of the action rather than the person released is shown here by the first person plural verb, i.e., nītemed, and the first person plural pronominal suffix, i.e., pūtni. The person released is designated by the third person singular pronominal suffix on the second verb, i.e., ušēšišu.

1. VAT 10147 II:56 in KAR 212 (p.12) - MA, par. K.3900:3 in CT XXXIX 7 - NA. In both texts it occurs in the protasis in the form: šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) mu-kil pūti(SAG.KI)-šu īmur(IGI.DUB). VAT 10147 II then gives as the apodosis ana(DIŠ) itti(GISKIM) damioti(SIG<sub>5</sub>) šuknaš(GAR)-šu, which is a favourable omen, while K.3900 is broken. R. Labat in Calendrier, p.123, put forward mukil-rēš-lemutti as a variant of mukil pūti. This is a demon bringing evil. It is hard to justify that these both signify this evil demon, since seeing the mukil pūti is a favourable omen, which would not be expected of an evil demon. Labat then says that the mukil pūti could have been extended in meaning to include any visual hallucination (*ibid*). This again is based on the mukil pūti being identified as the mukil rēš lemuttim, which has not been proven. There is not enough context in either text to establish the meaning of mukil pūti.

2. ARM I 43 (pl.LIX):12.

3. He then tells him to wait there for a fortnight.



much assistance in interpretation. Whatever is meant by pūt mātim kullum the king had to be present to do it.

G. Dossin and A. Finet translated this as "garantir", 'to guarantee'.<sup>1</sup> There is not enough information given in this text to support this interpretation, even though it is a possibility. There are other idioms using pūtam with the meaning of guaranteeing (cf. 1-3, pp.128-140) which would strengthen his argument, but none of these are extant in Mari.

Since there are so few texts containing this idiom, and those available have contexts which are of little use for determining its meaning, no definite interpretation of pūtam/ kullum is proposed.

5 pūta katāmu; 'to cover the forehead'

pūta katāmu occurs in an NB letter concerning payment made for one person by another.<sup>2</sup> The writer says:

1. ARMT I, p.99, 1.2 and ARMT XV, p.243 respectively. Finet, *ibid.*, also proposed "être à la disposition de", 'to be at the disposal of', apparently by comparison with rēša(m) kullu(m), cf. p.77, n.4. There are several instances in which rēša(m) kullu(m) is metaphorically extended to inanimate objects (cf. II F 1.2 pp.76-77) but not, as pūta(m) kullu(m) is here used, with mātim. In the former cases, the inanimate object was the subject of the verb (e.g. ARM I 43): (12) /šá/-la-tum re-ša-am i-na /H<sup>7</sup>a-/XX/ (13) ú-ka-al, while here the land is the object. Since there is a different grammatical construction than rēša(m) kullu(m) as well as a different part of the body being used, it does not appear that Finet's second possibility is valid, especially as it would not make sense here.

2. BM 74334 in CT XXII 105 (pl.21): (5) 25 kurru(GUR) uttatu(SE.BAR) a-na (6) 1Mu-ra-nu ana muhhi(UGU)-ka (7) e-te-tir 2 šiglu(GIN) 1-tu kaspu(KU.BABBAR) (8) man-da-at-tum ša GU-/XX/ (9) ina pāni(IGI)-ka bēlu(EN), 'for I paid Muranu 25 kur of barley for you. You have 2½ silver shekels as equalisation for [ ], lord'.

(9) ... <sup>tūg</sup>na-aš-ba-ti (10) at-ta-nak-ka u pu-ut-ka ku-ut-mu  
 8 šiklu(GÍN) ina qātē(ŠU<sup>II</sup>) (12) <sup>I</sup>Ag-gi-ia na-šá-a-ka  
 (13) kaspu(KÙ.BABBAR) <sup>I</sup>Ag-gi-ia, 'I gave you a mantle, and  
 your forehead is covered. I bring 8 shekels from Agīa, money  
 which Agīa paid' (BM 74334).<sup>1</sup> Here the forehead is literally  
 covered with a cloak. It is not possible to tell who did the  
 covering, nor is it possible to determine what significance,  
 if any, the covered forehead had, since there are no other  
 occurrences of this phrase.<sup>2</sup>

## B

## The Cheek

יָנִי is the Hebrew word for the 'cheek' and 'jaw',  
 as well as the 'jawbone',<sup>3</sup> and applies to animals as well  
 as man. The Akkadian lahû(m), which comes from the same  
 Proto-Semitic word, also means 'jaw'.<sup>4</sup> It occurs with  
mabāšu, 'to strike', but with only a literal meaning.<sup>5</sup>

1. Ibid.

2. A. Ungnad in ZDMG 65 (1911), p.118 read ll.8ff as:  
 "(8) ... pu-ut-ka ku-u/sic/-mu 8 šiklu ina qâtâ <sup>m</sup>Ag-gi-ia  
na-sa-a-ka, ich hatte mich für dich wegen 8 Sekel bei  
Aggi-ja verbürgt", 'I stood bail for you for 8 shekels from  
 Aggi-ja'. pūt X našû is used for 'to guarantee' (cf. IV  
 A 1, pp.128-131), but in those cases, repayment was  
 indicated by the phrase pūt eṭēru našû (cf. p.131, n.6)  
 where it is stated that responsibility for the repayment,  
 rather than the specific sum, is assumed. While this does  
 not disprove Ungnad's interpretation, the lack of parallels  
 weakens his argument.

3. Cf. BDB, p.534 (sub יָנִי I). KB<sup>3</sup>, p.499 (sub יָנִי I)  
 translates the word as "Kinn", 'chin', and "Kinnlade",  
 'jawbone', as well as "Backe", 'cheek'. All of these  
 are in fact part of the same semantic range.

4. Cf. CAD L, pp.44-45 (sub lahû A); Holma Körperteile, p.31.

5. E.g. SMN 528:8 in HSS IX 10 (pl.VIII) - Nuzi: mibšišu ša  
Attia itamrû (8) lahû(MES)-šu ina baṭṭi(<sup>9</sup>PA) mabīṣ(9)  
u damā(MES) muššur, 'They saw the beating of Attia; his  
 jaw was struck with a stick and the blood was flowing'.

In Akkadian the 'cheek' of man and beast is indicated by lētū(m)-(TE).<sup>1</sup> The noun also has several extended uses, including 'side'.<sup>2</sup>

1 The cheek is struck both in the OT and in Akkadian. A form of the Hebrew הָכָה לְחִי occurs in the context of Yahweh's attack on the wicked,<sup>3</sup> of scorn,<sup>4</sup> and defeat.<sup>5</sup>

1.1 The author of the poetic lament explains that it is better to bear in silence the yoke of Yahweh while young:

(29) יָתֵן בְּעַפְרֵי פִיהוּ אֶרְלִי יֵשׁ מִקְרָה: (30) יָתֵן לְמַכּוּהוּ לְחִי יִשְׁבַּע בְּחֶרֶפָה:

'Let him put his mouth in the dust, perhaps there is hope.

Let him give his cheek to those who strike; he will be filled with scorn' (Lam.3). In the immediate context of

1. Cf. CAD L, pp.148-150 (sub lētu 1); AHW., p.546 (sub lētu(m) I 1-4).

2. Cf. CAD L, pp.150-151 (loc.cit., 2); AHW., (loc.cit., 6); Holma Korperteile, p.31.

3. Ps.3:8 (Davidic). The Psalmist says of Yahweh: כִּי-הָכִיתָ... אֶת-כָּל-אֹיְבֵי לְחִי שְׁנֵי רִשְׁעִים שָׁבַרְתָּ: '... for you struck the cheek of all of my enemies, the teeth of the wicked you broke'. This action is figurative, a poetic discription of Yahweh's defeating the Psalmist's enemies, and does not have any symbolic significance.

4. For lying - I Kings 22:24 (D); הָרַפָּה - Lam.3:30 (exilic); Job 16:10 (fifth-third cent. B.C.).

5. Mic.4:14.

this blow given to the writer's cheek by others is scorn on their part ( **הִרְפָּה** ) and humiliation on his own part.<sup>1</sup> The blow is literal but symbolises scorn.<sup>2</sup>

1.2 The phrase **הִכָּה לְחִי** is also found in the account of Jehosophat asking Ahab to have a second opinion from Micaiah whether they should go forth to battle, as had been agreed by the court prophets. Micaiah said that the other prophets were lying in order to cause Ahab to go out to battle:

**וַיֵּשֶׁב צִדְקִיָּה בֶן-כְּנַעֲנָה וַיִּכֶּה אֶת-מִיכָיָהוּ עַל-הַלְחִי  
וַיֵּשֶׁב צִדְקִיָּה בֶן-כְּנַעֲנָה וַיִּכֶּה אֶת-מִיכָיָהוּ עַל-הַלְחִי  
וַיֵּשֶׁב צִדְקִיָּה בֶן-כְּנַעֲנָה וַיִּכֶּה אֶת-מִיכָיָהוּ עַל-הַלְחִי  
וַיֵּשֶׁב צִדְקִיָּה בֶן-כְּנַעֲנָה וַיִּכֶּה אֶת-מִיכָיָהוּ עַל-הַלְחִי**

'Zedekiah, the son of Canaanah (who was one of the court prophets), approached and struck Micaiah on the cheek and said, "How did the Spirit of Yahweh pass from me to speak to you?"' (I Kings 22:24). The gesture is literal but Micaiah recognised that it was not only to stop him from speaking but also signified that Zedekiah was insulting him by calling him a liar. This is shown by his response in which he said that Yahweh would prove him right (v.28). This gesture thus has the meaning in this context that its recipient should stop speaking because what is being said is not true.

1. The two actions, 'sitting alone' and 'eating dust', express humility. Cf. Gen.3:14 (J) where the serpent is humiliated by having to eat dust.
2. Cf. Job 16: **וְצָרִי יִלְטֹשׁ עֵינָיו לִי: (10) פָּעָרוּ עָלַי** (9) **בְּפִיהֶם בְּחִרְפָּה הִפּוּ לְחִי וּגְו'** 'My oppressor looks sharply at me; they open wide their mouths at me, in scorn they strike my cheek ...'. Here the blow is explicitly called a sign of scorn.

- 2 The Akkadian lēta(m) maḥāṣu(m) occurs in a ritual,<sup>1</sup> in law cases,<sup>2</sup> in incantations,<sup>3</sup> and in an epic.<sup>4</sup>

1. D.T. 109 in RAcc., p.152 in which the priest takes the divine emblems from the king, places them before Bēl, to whom he prays. He then returns the emblems to the king: (r.9') lēt(TE) šarri(LUGAL) i-maḥ-ḥa-aṣ e-nu-ma lēs(TE)-su /im-ḥa-aṣ/ (r.10') šum-ma di-ma-ti-šu Bēl(EN) ša-l/im/, 'He strikes the king's cheek; when /he has struck/ his cheek, if his tears (flow), Bēl is happy'. This is clearly a literal blow, since it brings tears to the king's eyes. The context does not imply any further significance to the blow than as an omen. Cf. also MNB 1848 V:35,42 in RAcc., p.154- NB.
2. E.g. LE § 42; LH § 202, § 203, § 204, § 205 - OB.
3. VAT 9030:6 in KAR 58 (p.98) - MA; K.2950:97 in Tallqvist Maqlu, pl.45; K.8162:11' in ibid., pl.96. These incantations are directed against a sorcerer, i.e., aqūqillu in K.2950:96, and a sorceress, i.e., kašaptum, in K.8162:10'. The former says: (96)... rikis(KEŠDA)-ki a-bi-pi (97) a-maḥ-ḥaṣ le-et-ki a-šal-lā-pa lišān(EME)-ki (98) ū-ma-al-la ru-'-a-ta ēnā(IGI/II)-ki/ (99) ū-šā-lak a-bi-ki lil/ūta(LIL)/ (100) ū ak-ka-a-ši ru-uq-bu-ta ū-ša/-kil-ki/ (101) ū mimma(NIN) ma-la te-te-ep-pu-ši ū-tar ana muḥ-/hi-ki/, 'I will break your hold; I will strike your cheek; I will pull out your tongue; I will fill your eyes with wind; I will send weakness into your arms; and I will give you rotten things to eat. Everything you practise (i.e., witchcraft) shall return upon yourself' (K.2950). Striking the cheek occurs in the context of other literal, physical actions, e.g. pulling out the tongue (which also occurs in K.8162:11'), which suggests that it also is literal. The actions are done in order to stop evil from being said.  
  
In VAT 9030 the incantation is also directed against evil. The divine light (dūru), when it enters a person's house, is to: (6) le-et lem-ni ma-ḥa-aṣ šēp(GIR) lem-ni ku-bu-us irat(GABA) lem-ni si-kip (7) lem-nu lip-tur ina pa-ni-ka, 'strike the cheek of the evil, tread on the foot of the evil, repulse the breast of the evil, may the evil depart from before you'. Here again the actions are done so as to stop the evil from afflicting the person. It is not possible from these passages to determine if there is any greater significance, either symbolic or idiomatic, to the gesture.
4. K.162:r.28('Ištar's Descent into the Underworld') in BAL III, pl.58 - NA.

2.1 An OB law case records: šum-ma mār(DUMU) a-wi-lim le-et  
a-wi-lim ša ki-ma šu-a-ti im-ta-ḫa-aš 1 ma-na kaspam(KU.BABBAR)  
i-ša-qal, 'If a man strikes the cheek of a man like himself,  
 he shall pay 1 mina of silver' (LH#203). This law is one of  
 a series of four laws dealing with the same offence in LH.<sup>1</sup>  
 They follow in order those dealing with serious bodily  
 injuries. Even though the order of the laws in the collections  
 can be quite arbitrary, there is no evidence that these laws  
 do not involve a literal blow. This is further strengthened  
 by LE#42 in which 'striking the cheek' is included in the same  
 law with other literal, physical injuries.<sup>2</sup> The penalties for  
 striking the cheek seem extremely high, especially in LH#203,  
 in which the penalty of one mina of silver is double that  
 imposed for manslaughter in LH#207. The severity of the  
 penalties indicates that something more is involved than  
 simply a physical blow; there must be some symbolic meaning  
 in the gesture which indicates some injury which is in excess  
 of the physical. It is impossible, however, to ascertain the  
 exact nature of this injury from the evidence available in  
 the laws.

1. LH #202: a man striking the cheek of a man greater than himself shall be struck 60 times; LH #204: a muškēnum who strikes another muškēnum shall pay 10 silver shekels; LH #205: a slave who strikes an awīlum shall have his ear cut off.
2. I.e., sum-ma awīlum(LÚ) ap-pe awīlim(LÚ) iš-šu-uk-ma  
it-ta-ki-iš 1 ma-na kaspam(KU.BABBAR) išaqqal(LAL)  
inum(IGI) 1 ma-na šinnum(ZU) ½ ma-na uz-na ½ ma-na me-be-eš  
le-tim 10 šiqil(GIN) kaspam(KU.BABBAR) išaqqal(LAL), 'If  
 a man bites the nose of a man and severs it, he shall pay  
 1 mina of silver. An eye, 1 mina; a tooth, ½ mina, an  
 ear, ½ mina; a slap in the face, he shall pay ten shekels.'

2.2 In the NA recension of 'Ištar's Descent into the Underworld', the eunuch, Asušanimar, is cursed by Ereškigal, who says: (r.24) aklī(NINDA.MEŠ) <sup>giš</sup>eppinet(APIN.MEŠ) ālī(URU) lu a-kal-ka (r.25) <sup>dug</sup>ha-ba-na-at āli(URU) lu ma-al-ti-it-ka (r.26) šilli(GISSU) dūri(BAD) lu-ū man-za-zu-ka (r.27) as-kup-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-ū-ka (r.28) šak-ru ū ša-mu-ū lim-ḥa-šu le-et-ka, 'May the food of the plows of the city (i.e., dirt) be your food. May the sewers of the city be your drinking place. May the shadow of the wall be your standing-place (i.e., as a beggar). May the threshold be your seat. May the drunk and thirsty strike your cheek' (K.162).<sup>1</sup> In this curse, Ereškigal is asking that vile humiliation be heaped upon Asušanimar and that he be brought low in the city. Included in this list of degradations to which the latter is to be inflicted is his being struck by the inhabitants of the city. Being in this context, the gesture itself must also be the cause of humiliation.

This is shown also by the use of lēta mahāšu in the Akītu-festival. The king recounts a list of things which he did not do, in order to influence the god to bestow good on him because he had not done this evil. They include:

(39) ul ab 7<sup>2</sup>-tu bēl(EN) mātēti(KUR.KUR) ul e-gi ana ilū(DINGIR)-ti-ku (40) ul ū-ba-a 7<sup>2</sup>l-liq Bābili(E<sup>ki</sup>) ul aq-ta-bi sapāb(BIR)-šú (41) ul ū-r 7<sup>2</sup>ib-bi É.SAG.GIL ul ū-ma-áš parši(ME)-šú (42) ul am-a 7<sup>2</sup>b-ha-as lēt(TE) lū šābi(ERIM<sup>bi</sup>) ki-din-nu (43) ul aš-kun qa-la-šú-nu,

1. BAL III, pl.58. L.108: šakru u šamû is an example of synecdoche in which the two extremes are given, implying the whole, i.e., all of the inhabitants.

2. Restored thus by F. Thureau-Dangin in RAcc., p.144.

'I have not sinned, lord of the lānds; I have not neglected your divinity; I have not destroyed Babylon; I have not ordered its dispersion. I have not shaken Esagil; I have not forgotten its rites. I have not humiliated (i.e., struck the cheek of) the people under divine protection; I have not caused their humiliation' (MNB 1848 V).<sup>1</sup> The actions which are repudiated by the king are arranged in doublets, each showing synonymous parallelism. In keeping with the interpretation of the phrase as 'to humiliate', the synonymous doublet of 'striking the cheek' is 'to humiliate'.<sup>2</sup>

This meaning of the gesture could well explain the reason why striking the cheek of a man was dealt with so severely in the law cases. Aside from the fact of the physical blow, the person was also being grievously insulted and so would be recompensed for this. The nature of this insult might be reflected in the incantations, where evil was stopped from being uttered by the blow. These could be parallel to the action in I Kings 22:24 (cf. 1.2, p.145), in which the person struck was being called a liar. The sorcerers or evil-speakers would thus be told by this blow that their evil words were not true. The slander to a man's honour in this area would also explain the harsh penalty for such an action under the law.

1. RAcc., p.154.

2. The same action also takes place earlier in the same text, i.e., the priest places the royal emblems in the temple: (35) ... ussi(Ē)-ma lēt(TE) šarri(LUGAL) imabhaš(SiG<sup>as</sup>), 'he comes out and strikes the cheek of the king' (MNB 1848 V). Here the gesture clearly has a symbolic meaning as it is part of the ritual where the external trappings of kingship are removed and the king is humiliated. The action signifies this symbolic abasement of the king.



It is not possible to push this interpretation too far, since there is a large time span between the use of the phrase in a legal context and its occurrence in the context of humiliation. The final interpretation must await the discovery of further examples, especially in texts from the intervening periods, in order that the development of the use of the gesture might be traced.

## C

## The Hair

The regular word for 'hair', as a collective, of animal and man, is שַׁעַר.<sup>1</sup> A single hair is indicated by שַׁעֲרָה.<sup>2</sup> The former is the explicit object of the verbs מָרַט, 'to burnish' and גָּלַח, 'to shave'. The word נֶזֶר refers to the hair which is consecrated during the course of a Nazirite vow.<sup>3</sup> It occurs as the object of גָּזַז, 'to shear' and גָּלַח, 'to shave'. The word also occurs once in the OT as 'hair',<sup>4</sup> but it is not the object of a verb.

The Akkadian šārtu(m) is a general term of 'hair',<sup>5</sup> while pērtu(m) refers to the 'head-hair'.<sup>6</sup>

1. Cf. BDB, p.972 (sub שַׁעַר); KB, p.927 (sub שַׁעַר).

2. Cf. BDB, p.972 (sub שַׁעֲרָה); KB, p.927 (sub שַׁעֲרָה).

3. Cf. BDB, p.634 (sub נֶזֶר 2, 3 b); KB, p.605 (sub נֶזֶר).

4. Song of Sol.7:6.

5. Cf. Delitzsch HWB, p.635 (sub שַׁאֲר IV); Holma Körperteile, p.3.

6. Cf. Holma Körperteile, p.34; Ahw., p.856 (sub pērtu(m)).

1

גִּלַּח , 'to shave'

שֶׁער occurs in only one passage in the OT with גִּלַּח as its direct object. It is in the context of purification from a skin disease in which the action is literal, without any apparent idiomatic meaning.<sup>1</sup> This text shows that ראש can also mean 'hair', possibly by an elipsis from שֶׁער-ראש.<sup>2</sup> There are several verses in which גִּלַּח ראש occurs, probably with this same elipsis. These are found in the

1. Lev.14 (P): (8) וְכַתֵּם הַמִּשְׁחָה אֶת-קִדְיוֹ וְגִלַּח אֶת-קַל-שָׁעֲרוֹ וְרָחַץ בְּמֵי־מִקְוֵה וְיָבֹא אֶל-הַמִּטְהָר וְיֵשֵׁב מִחוּץ לָאֹהֶל שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: (9) וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי יְגִלַּח אֶת-קַל-שָׁעֲרוֹ אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ וְאֶת-זָקְנוֹ וְאֶת צִנּוֹת עֵינָיו וְאֶת-קַל-שָׁעֲרוֹ יְגִלַּח וְגו'.

'The self-purifier shall launder his clothes and shave all of his hair. He shall wash in water and be clean. Afterwards, he shall come to the camp and sit outside his tent for seven days. On the seventh day he shall shave off all of his hair, his head and his beard and his eyebrows; all of his hair he shall shave'. In Lev.13:33 (P), shaving is part of the diagnostic process for a skin disease.

2. Cf. Judg.16:22 (D): וַיִּקַּח שֶׁער-רֹאשׁוֹ לְצַמֵּם כַּאֲשֶׁר גִּלָּח וַיִּקַּח שֶׁער-רֹאשׁוֹ לְצַמֵּם כַּאֲשֶׁר גִּלָּח 'And the hair of his head began to grow when it was shaved'. Lev.14 :8-9 (n.1 above) also shows that must only be that hair on top of the head, since it does not include the beard and the eyebrows, which are mentioned separately.

context of personal toilet,<sup>1</sup> invasion,<sup>2</sup> consecration,<sup>3</sup> and marrying a foreign prisoner of war.<sup>4</sup>

1.1 As part of the Nazirite vow of consecration to Yahweh, the Israelite was to refrain from alcohol as well as the grape and its products. He was also to keep from using a razor, and to let his hair grow.<sup>5</sup> It is only when his vow

1. II Sam.14:26 (D) describes Absalom's yearly haircut: וַיִּגְלַח אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ וְהָיָה מִקֵּץ לְקַיִם לְקַיִם אֲשֶׁר יִגְלַח כִּי-כָבֵד עָלָיו וַיִּגְלַח וְשָׁקַל אֶת-שֹׁעַר רֹאשׁוֹ קִטְמִים שְׁקָלִים בָּאֶבֶן הַסֵּלָה:

'When he shaved his head - for from time to time when he shaved it, for it was very heavy for him, so he shaved it - the weight of the hair of his head was two hundred Imperial shekels'. Here the action is simply a part of Absalom's personal toilet and is not idiomatic or symbolic. Cf.

Ezek.44:20 (fifth cent. B.C.) where the priests are forbidden to shave their hair: וְלֹא יִגְלַחוּ וְפָרַע לֹא יִשְׁלַחוּ: 'They shall not shave their heads and shall not let loose go free. They shall clip their heads'.

2. Isa.7:20 (8th cent.) When Isaiah tells of Yahweh calling down the Assyrians and Egyptians upon Israel, he uses symbolic imagery: בְּיוֹם הַהוּא יִגְלַח אֲדֹנָי בְּמַעַר הַשְּׂכִירָה בְּעֶבְרֵי נָהָר: קַמְלָה אֲשֶׁר אֶת-הָרֹאשׁ וְשֹׁעַר הַרְגָלִים וְגַם אֶת-הַזָּאֵן תִּסְפֶּה: 'On that day, my Lord will shave with a razor hired across the river, with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet. (i.e., the pubic hair - a euphemism). It will also sweep away the beard'. Here there is no idiomatic meaning to the shaving, but rather it is used as a metaphor for the complete destruction which Assyria would bring upon Israel.

3. Num.6:9, 18 (P). Cf. v.19 where נָזַר occurs. Here נָזַר refers also to the hair (cf. p.150). Cf. also Num.6:19 where: אַחֲרֵי הַתְּגַלְחוֹ אֶת-נִזְרוֹ ..., 'after his shaving his dedication', is a further elipsis of ראש. Also Judg.16:19, 22 (D).

4. Deut.21:12 (D).

5. Num.6:5: כָּל-יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ נָזַר פָּעַר לֹא-יַעֲבֹר עַל-רֹאשׁוֹ עַד-תִּקְלָאֵת הַיָּמִם: 'All the days of his dedicatory vow a razor shall not pass over his head. Until the completion of the days which he dedicated to Yahweh he shall be holy; he shall grow the loose hair of his head'. (Cf. Judg.16:17 (D) in which Samson, who was a Nazirite, said: טוֹכָה לֹא-עָלָה עַל-רֹאשִׁי כִּי-... 'a razor hasn't been on my head for I am one dedicated to God ...').

is ended that the hair may be cut: **וְגִלַּח הַנָּזִיר פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**

**אֶת-רֹאשׁ הַנָּזִיר וְלָקַח אֶת-שָׁעַר רֹאשׁ הַנָּזִיר וְנָתַן עַל-הָאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר-תַּחַת**

**:זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים**, The Nazirite shall shave his consecrated

head at the opening of the Tent of Meeting, and shall take the hair of his dedicated head and put it on the fire which is under the whole offering' (Num.6:18).<sup>1</sup> While the action of shaving the head is literal in this context, it is also symbolic of the termination of the vow of consecration.<sup>2</sup>

As well as signifying breaking the vow, shaving is also part of the purification process which could be needed to establish the relationship if it was broken by involuntary impurity.<sup>3</sup>

1.2 Deuteronomy 21 records the procedure to be followed if an Israelite wished to marry a foreign woman taken as a prisoner of war. He is told: **וְהֵבֵאתָ אֵל-תּוֹךְ בֵּיתָהּ וְגִלַּחְתָּ אֶת-**

**:רֹאשָׁהּ וְעָשִׂיתָ אֶת-צִפּוֹרְתֶיהָ**, 'Bring her into your

house and shave her head and do her nails' (v.12).<sup>4</sup> It has

1. If the Nazirite comes into contact with a dead person:...

**וְכִסָּא רֹאשׁ הַנָּזִיר וְנִגְלַח רֹאשׁוֹ בַּיּוֹם שֶׁהָיָה בְּיוֹם טִשְׁבִּיעֵי וְנִלְקַחְנוּ:**

'... and his dedicated head has been defiled, he shall shave his head. On the day of his purification, on the seventh day, he shall shave it' (Num.6:9). Cf. Ezek. 44:20 (p.152, n.1) in which the priests, as part of their dedication, were not to shave their heads.

2. Cf. Num.6:9 (n.1 above) and Judg.16:19 where Samson was shaved and his strength left because he was no longer consecrated to Yahweh.

3. Cf. Num.6:9 (n.1. above) and Lev.14:8-9 (p.154, n.1) where shaving is part of the purification from a skin disease.

4. She is then to remove her prisoner's clothes and mourn her family for a month, following which she can become his wife.

been suggested that these actions were part of either mourning,<sup>1</sup> or purification rites.<sup>2</sup> The context does include mourning (v.13) so the two actions could be part of this ritual, but they do not occur elsewhere in the OT in this context.<sup>3</sup> The second possibility appears more attractive since shaving the head does occur in this context of purification elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> A further suggestion has been made that the action signified removal from the slave status.<sup>5</sup> This is apparently understood as a parallel with the Akkadian abbuttu(m)<sup>6</sup> or 'slave-mark' but there is no evidence in the OT for such a practice.<sup>7</sup>

1. G. von Rad, Deuteronomy: A Commentary (1966), p.137.
2. M. Kline, Treaty of the Great King (1963), p.107. von Rad, op.cit., also suggested that the ritual might have been done in order to prevent the infection of a foreign religion, which is also a form of purification.
3. But cf. Lev.21:5 (P) in which the priests were told that if someone close to them died:  
 לא-יִקְרָחַהּ  
 קְרָחָהּ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ וְקָצַת זָקָנָם לֹא יִגְלְחוּ וְגו'  
 'They shall not cause a baldness on their head nor shave the corners of their beard ...'. Here the context is explicitly 'that of grief, but the phrases for the actions involved are different. Cf. also IV C 2.1 and 2.2, pp. 156-157 and 5.2, p.163.
4. Cf. Num.6:9 (p.153, n.1); Lev.14:8-9 (p.151, n.1).
5. Kline, op.cit.
6. For a brief discussion see Driver and Miles Babylonian Laws I, pp.306-309.
7. The practice recorded in Deut.15:16-17 (D) of symbolically fastening the slave to the house by piercing his ear with an awl is not a parallel since the slavery is permanent and the mark is not removable.

1.3      גִּלְחָה is used once of פָּאָה.<sup>1</sup> פָּאָה is used of the 'side' or 'edge' or 'fringe' of inanimate objects such as tables or fields, as well as of the head, where it is generally understood as the 'temple',<sup>2</sup> being the edge of the top of the head. The passage in which it occurs concerns the priests' orders not to defile themselves with the dead. They are told: לֹא-תִקְרַח קִרְחָה בְּרֹאשְׁךָ וּפָאָה זָקָנְךָ לֹא      :לֹא-תִגְלַח וּבִגְלָחֶךָ לֹא יִשְׁרֹטוּ שְׂרֹטָה: 'They shall not make a bald-spot on their head and they shall not shave the fringe of their beard and they shall not lacerate their flesh' (Lev.21:5). Baldness and self-laceration were part of the mourning procedure.<sup>3</sup> Shaving the fringes of the beard is also one of these mourning rites.

Commentators have stated that the reason for the forbidding of making oneself bald along with self-laceration and other actions was that these rites were part of the current pagan environment at the time of the writing of these passages.<sup>4</sup>

1. Lev.21:5 (P').

2. Cf. BDB, p.802 (sub פָּאָה ); KB, pp.749-750 (sub פָּאָה ); L'emploi, p.71.

3. In Jer.16:5 (D), which is in the context of widespread death in the land, the prophet says that not only will the dead go unburied and unmourned, but one will not lacerate oneself or be made bald for them. Baldness is also associated with self-laceration in Deut.14:1 (D) in which both are forbidden of the Israelites because they are sons of Yahweh and consecrated to him from among the nations. Cf. also e.g. Isa.22:2 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.); Jer.16:6; 45:7; 48:37 (D); Amos 8:10 (eighth cent. B.C.); Mic.1:1b (D) where baldness, laceration, or both, symbolise mourning.

4. M. Noth, Leviticus (1965), p.155; M. Kline, Treaty of The Great King (1963), p.87; S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy 3rd ed. (1902, rep.1908), p.156. The latter cites Xenophon, *Cyrop.* iii I B as describing the rite among Israel's neighbours.

2

זָרַח, 'to shear'

זָרַח is used twice in ellipical expressions where שָׁעַר has dropped out. In Jer.7:29 (D) it occurs with נֶזֶר as its direct object<sup>1</sup> and in Job 1:20 (fifth-third cent. B.C.) with ראש as the direct object.<sup>2</sup> Both are in the context of mourning.

2.1 Because Judah had done evil and turned away from Yahweh, Jeremiah writes: זָרַח נֶזֶרְךָ וְהִשְׁלִיכֵהוּ וְשָׂאֵי עַל-שָׁפְטִים אֵינָהּ רִגְרָה

'Shear your dedication and throw it away; raise a lament on the bare heights...' (Jer 7:29). It is not clear from the context what the relationship is between the shearing and the mourning. The former could simply be symbolic of mourning.<sup>3</sup> A more satisfactory explanation of the author's choice of words is to see the נֶזֶר as indicative of a special relationship with Yahweh which Israel had prior to their apostasy. They are told to shear this off to symbolise the loss of relationship and then to mourn the fact that they are no longer unique to Yahweh and that he has rejected them.

2.2 זָרַח, which is generally used of sheep, would appear to denote a rough, unfinished cutting, which would be expected as a spontaneous show of grief. It is also this verb which

1. Cf. p.152, n.3 concerning the ellision of שָׁעַר ראש.

2. Cf. p.151 concerning שָׁעַר ראש.

3. Cf. 1.2, pp.153-154.

is used when Job was told of the death of his family: וַיָּקָם

אִרְבֹּב וַיִּקְרַע אֶת-מָעִלּוֹ וַיִּגְזֹז אֶת-רֹאשׁוֹ וַיִּפֹּל אֶרֶצָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה:

'Job arose, tore his garment, sheared his head, and fell to the earth, worshipping' (Job 1:20). Here the shearing occurs with tearing the clothes, which is a common sign of mourning.<sup>1</sup>

This strengthens the interpretation of וַיִּגְזֹז, with שִׁעָר elided, symbolising grief and mourning.

3 קָצַץ, 'to cut'<sup>2</sup>

The three times that קָצַץ is used of the hair in the OT, it occurs as the passive participle in the form of קְצוּצִי

פָּאָה, 'trimmed fringes'.<sup>3</sup> In two instances it is in the context of a list of peoples, e.g. Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites and Moab (Jer.9:25), Jerusalem, Judah, Egypt, Uz, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the western islands, Dedan, Tema and Buz (Jer.25:23). This suggests that

קְצוּצִי פָּאָה is also an ethnic designation. These people are further defined in Jer.9:25 as: ...קְצוּצִי פָּאָה הַיֹּשְׁבִים בַּמִּדְבָּר. 'those with trimmed fringes who live in the desert'. This probably is the desert to the east of Israel, since the rest of the peoples in the verse are from that area. In Jer.49:32, the קְצוּצִי פָּאָה are again associated with eastern peoples, Qedar and Hazor, who will be destroyed by Assyria.

1. Cf. Gen.37:34 (E); II Sam.1:11; 3:31; 13:31 (D).

2. The verb is used of a number of objects including hands and feet, a spear, vessels, etc. Cf. BDB, p.893 (sub קָצַץ); KB, pp.848-849 (sub I קָצַץ).

3. Jer.9:25 (seventh cent. B.C.); 25:23; 49:32 (D).



This is apparently an ethnic designation used by Israel for others as a description of a noticeable physical trait rather than the normal geographic designation. The exact physical characteristic is difficult to determine although presumably there was a shaved or shortened portion of hair, possibly between the hair and the beard. It is also not possible to discover the significance, if any, of this form of hair style.<sup>1</sup>

4

מָרַט, 'to burnish'

4.1 The verb מָרַט is used to describe a burnished, polished sword,<sup>2</sup> or brass implement.<sup>3</sup> מַעֲרָה is the object of מָרַט

1. E. Dhorme in *L'emploi*, p.71 refers to a reference in Herodotus (III 8) to this style among the Arabs, and compares it to Lev.19:27 (P) in which the people were told:   
 לֹא תִקְצַץ אֶת פְּאַת זָקְנְךָ וְלֹא תִשְׁחִית אֶת פְּאַת זָקְנְךָ  
 'Do not round off the fringe of your heads and do not destroy the fringe of your beard'. Here the פְּאַת is specifically designated. This could have been commanded of Israel in order to visibly segregate them from some of their neighbours.
2. Ezek.21:13 ff (fifth cent. B.C.).
3. I Kings 7:45 (D). A man suffering from this skin disease who has his head burnished ( מָרַט ) is bald ( קָרָה ), e.g. Lev.13:40 (P):   
 וְאִישׁ כִּי יִמָּרַט רֹאשׁוֹ קָרָה הוּא סְהוּר הוּא  
 in this passage is used to denote complete baldness, or that at the crown of the head because it is used in contrast-distinction to the front part of the head being burnished, which is denoted by the word גִּבָּח , i.e. Lev.13:41:   
 וְאִם יִמָּרַט רֹאשׁוֹ גִּבָּח הוּא סְהוּר הוּא  
 'and if his head is burnished at the edge of his face, he is bald ...'. The burnishing and baldness are natural results of a disease and not symbolic in any way.

The root מָרַט in the form of the Pual participle is used twice in a passage in Isa.18:2,7 (eighth cent., red. third cent. B.C.) in a description of a people 'from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia',   
 מִמַּעַר לְנַהֲרֵי-כוּשׁ (Isa.18:1)   
 whose representatives have come for Yahweh's aid. They are

only in Ezra 9:3 (second cent. B.C.). Here Ezra, upon hearing that Israel had been intermarrying, said: וַכְשָׁמָעִי

אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה קָרַעְתִּי אֶת-בְּגָדֵי וַמְעִילִי וַאֲמַרְטָה מִשְׁעַר רֹאשִׁי וּזְקָנִי וְאֶשְׁבָּה

:מִשְׁרָמָם, 'When I heard this thing I tore my clothes and my coat, I burnished away the hair of my head and beard and I sat, appalled'. Removing the hair is part of the process which the prophet undertakes to show his horror, shown by

מִשְׁרָמָם, and grief, shown by tearing the clothes (cf. 1.3, p.155; 2, p.156). This was done before approaching God for forgiveness. Neither the verb nor the context indicate the method of depilation but only the state of hairlessness which results.

The action occurs in the same context when Nehemiah, faced with the same situation, said concerning those who

had intermarried: וְאֶרִיב עִמָּם וְאֶקְלָלֵם וְאֶכְהָ מֵהֶם אֲנָשִׁים וְאֶמְרָשָׁם

וְאֶרִיב עִמָּם וְאֶקְלָלֵם וְאֶכְהָ מֵהֶם אֲנָשִׁים וְאֶמְרָשָׁם, 'I disputed with them

and I cursed them and I struck some of them. I burnished

them and caused them to swear to God ...' (Neh.13:25 - second

.....

thought to be a legation from the Ethiopian pharaoh, Shabakoh (710/9 - 696/5 B.C. - Bright History, chart VI), who sought to ally himself with Hezekiah against Assyria. Cf. O. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-34 (1974), p.91; J. Bright, 'Isaiah - 1', Peake's Commentary on the Bible (1962), p.502. They are described as conquerors who cause fear ( נֹלְאָ וּמְבוֹסָה ). Physically, the people are 'lanky', מִקְשָׁה, and 'burnished', מוֹרָס. G.B. Gray in Isaiah I - XVIII (1912, rep.1975), p.312, posited that this was to denote the copper-coloured skin of the people. The verb does occur in the context of shiny brass (I Kings 7:45) but it is not the colour but the smoothness or lustre which is emphasized. It would thus appear that the two physical characteristics of these people noticed by the writer were their height and their hairlessness. It is not possible to determine if this 'burnishing' was a natural characteristic of these people or a practice which they followed nor, if the latter, what its significance was.

cent. B.C.). In this case the verb has only a suffixed direct object, referring to the people, but the parallel with the passage in Ezra shows that it is the hair which is involved here as well. Now, however, Nehemiah does not remove his own hair, as had Ezra, but had the people remove theirs. Although not explicit in the context, the action could have symbolised grief and contrition, which were necessary to show the peoples' repentance before they could be restored to the proper relationship with Yahweh, which was done by the oath. The action could alternatively be taken as a general preliminary to taking an oath to Yahweh, being related to the oath rather than to the misdeeds which preceded it. This does not have any parallel from the OT. The former interpretation is preferable since the same action does signify mourning during this same period, i.e., in Ezra 9:3.

4.2 The only other time when מָרַט is used for an action done by one person to another is in one of the Servant Songs in which the Suffering Servant said: גִּירִי נָתַתִּי לַמַּכִּים וְלַחֲזִי

לְמַרְטִים פָּנַי לֹא הִסְתַּרְתִּי מִקְלָמוֹת וְרֶגֶל: 'I gave my back to the strikers and my cheeks to the burnishers. I did not hide my face from derision and spitting' (Isa.50:6 - sixth cent. B.C.).<sup>1</sup> In this context of scorn and derision, 'burnishing the cheeks' is evidently one indication of

1. Cf. III F 3, p.119.

mockery. Not only would the gesture symbolise the feelings toward the person mocked, it also would physically torment him, adding to his suffering. Here again 'hair' is not specifically mentioned but it is implicit, possibly as an elision.

5                    gullubu, 'to shave

The Akkadian word for shaving or cutting the hair is gullubu.<sup>1</sup> It is used from the OB period and is shown by lexical lists to denote the use of an instrument,<sup>2</sup> and so corresponds, at least in this respect, to the Hebrew verb נזף.<sup>3</sup> The verb occurs in the context of illness,<sup>4</sup>

1. Previously interpreted by some as 'to cut, mark' or even 'to castrate' (cf. W. Muss-Arnolt, A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (1905), 217-218 for references). The definition adopted here has been recognized for some time and is now generally accepted; cf. Delitzsch, HWB, p.196; CAD G, pp.129-131 (sub gullubu); AHW., p.297 (sub gullubu(m) II).
2. Nabnitu H 256ff - giš.umbin.tar, sag.sar.ra, giš.umbin.ag.a = gul-lu-bu in CAD G, p.129 (loc.cit., lexical section).
3. Cf. C 1, p. 152, n.2; p. 152, n.5.
4. E.g. SU 51/78:116 in STT I 38 (pl. LII); K.2354+:4,5,9, 18-19,22 in CT XXIII, pp.23-24 - NA. In the latter, gullubu is part of the treatment of a number of varied illnesses. Usually the head, or the affected part of it, is shaved in order to apply a poultice, e.g. itti(KI) isqūqu(ZI.KUM) tuballal(HI.HI) ina mē(A) kasī(SILA<sub>4</sub>.SAR) talāš(SIDaš) takammi(LAL) pān(IGI) murši(GIG) tu-gal-lab adi(EN) iballut(TI) la tašammid(LAL), 'mix it with flour, knead it in mustard-water, bind it on. Shave the sickness but do not bandage it until it lives' (K.2345:b3). In this context no symbolism or idiomaticity is involved.

or death,<sup>1</sup> an incantation,<sup>2</sup> taking over a new job,<sup>3</sup> or punishment.<sup>4</sup>

5.1 In 'The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur', the poor man sets out to deceive the mayor of Nippur: (116) ú-gal-líb-ma kal pi-ir-ti [na?] me X [XXX] (117) na-aq-me- e ši-kin išāti(IZI) um-tal-/li zu-mur-su?,<sup>5</sup> 'He shaved all of his hair [ ]'. He covered his body with ashes' (SU 51/78).<sup>6</sup> When he was seen by the gatekeeper, he was apparently taken as a sick person.<sup>7</sup> If this is what the gatekeeper understood, he must have seen the ashes and shaved head as either a treatment of disease or symbolic of disease. Since both needed to be purposely carried out, neither would be a natural symptom. It is not possible from the context to determine if the actions were symbolic, but probably they were simply

1. Nabonidus HI, B III:30-31 in AnSt 8 (1958), p.52 - NB.

2. K.1350+:1 in CT XXXVIII, pl.33.

3. E.g. K.122:r.4, r.7 and passim in ABL 43 (p.41); K.891:16, 17 in Pinches Wedge Writing, pl.17; 83-1-18, 58:6, 13, r. 4 in LAS 310 (p.264, translit. only); PSBA XV (1893), p.417:7,8; VAT 9194:20,21,28 in AnOr 8, 48 (pl.52\*) - all NA.

4. E.g. LH 127; VAT 1547:8 in VAS VIII 102 (pl.50); Bu 91-5-9, 2190:14-15 in CT VIII, pl.45 - all OB; ana ittišu 7 III:31 in MSL I, p.102 - NB.

5. Lacunae filled by O.R. Gurney, AnSt 6 (1956), p.157.

6. STT I 38.

7. The gatekeeper asked: (121) mannu atta ša tamar/rašu?, 'how have you become ill?'.  
 'how have you become ill?'.

recognised as part of the treatment (cf. p. 161, n.4).

5.2 The verb appears in an NB text which, although broken, is a description of the general mourning of the people when Nabonidus' mother died.<sup>1</sup> In the immediate context, something, possibly dust (but the tablet is broken), is thrown on the head. The clothes are then thrown off and people are shaved:

(28) ... lu-bu-š/i-šu-un/ (29) sa-aḥ-pu ina 7 - i u<sub>4</sub>-mu XX

(30) sābē(ERIM??MEŠ?) māti(KUR) ka-la-ma pe-e/r?-tu-šu-nu/

(31) ú-gal-li-bu-ma, 'their clothes are cast off, on the seventh day: [ J; the people of the land shave all of [their/ ha/ir/]' (Nabonidus HI B III). If pērtu is to be reconstructed from the remaining sign, the shaving of the hair is explicitly mentioned. In any case, these gestures are symbolic of grief and mourning.<sup>2</sup>

1. Nabonidus HI B III:30-31 in AnSt 8 (1958), p.52.

2. The gesture of shaving the head also occurs in the NB incantation series šumma ālu, K.1350+:1, CT XXXVIII, pl.33. It concerns a man who will die if he sees a snake. If he wishes to live, he must do two things, including shaving his cheeks: šumma(BE) awīlu(LÚ) šuātu(BI) balātu(TI.LA) ḥa-ših qaqqadu(SAG.DU) ú-har-ra-ar lētē(TE.MEŠ)-šu ú-gal-lab, 'If that man desires to live, let him scrape (?) his head and shave his cheeks'. Here 'hair' is not explicitly mentioned but is implicit to the action. F. Nötscher in Or 39-42 (1929), p.110, states that this action parallels the Hebrew מלל (Jer.41:5), and מלל (Isa.15:2) when they symbolise mourning (cf. p.154, n.3). This could be the correct interpretation of the gestures, but the lack of mention of mourning in this context, plus the rarity of this gesture symbolising mourning, would lessen the certainty of this explanation, although not ruling it out, especially with nothing else to propose in its place.

5.3 There are several texts in which the verb gullubu is used in the context of one taking up various priestly positions or those otherwise related to the temple.<sup>1</sup> The positions include a high priest,<sup>2</sup> humbler temple personnel,<sup>3</sup> and other unspecified positions,<sup>4</sup> Some of these texts describe the purpose of the shaving by saying for which job the person is being shaved, the form being gullubu ana (muḫḫi)....<sup>5</sup> The ritual of shaving itself was done in the presence of the god, ina maḥar/pāni ....<sup>6</sup> The shaving of the head of a person in the presence of a god before entering into a temple office thus symbolises his appointment,<sup>7</sup> or at least is part of the appointment ritual which comes to signify the appointment itself, another example of synecdoche in which part signifies the whole.

1. E.g. K.122:r.4, r.7 and passim, ABL 43; K.891:16,18, Pinches Wedge Writing, pl.17; 83-1-18, 58:5',13',r.4, AOAT 43; PSBA XV (1893), p.417:7,8; VAT 9194:28, AnOr 8, 48.

2. I.e., urigallūtu (<sup>lú</sup>URI.GAL<sup>tu</sup>) in K.891:16, Pinches, op.cit.

3. I.e., ērib bītūtu (<sup>lú</sup>TU.É-ú-tu) in VAT 9194:27, AnOr 8,48; šangū(<sup>IU</sup>SANGA) - priest or scribe in K.122:r.1 - r.5, ABL 43; 83-1-18, 58:r.4, LAS 310.

4. PSBA XV (1893), p.417:7,8.

5. E.g. ana urigallūtu, K.891:16, Pinches, op.cit.; ana ērib bītūtu, VAT 9194:27, AnOr 8,48.

6. (ina) pāni:<sup>d</sup>Sîn: K.891:15,17,18, Pinches, op.cit.; <sup>d</sup>Nin-EZEN +GU<sub>4</sub>, PSBA (1893), p.417:7; ina maḥar Ištar, VAT 9194:28, AnOr 8,48.

7. Cf. e.g. ArOr 6 (1934), p.193; AOS 6, p.241; BA 4(1902), p.514 and CAD H, p.126 (sub ḫasi) for this interpretation.

This tonsure was important because in some texts it is said to have been done by the king,<sup>1</sup> although this does not appear always to be the case.<sup>2</sup> This shaving was not to be taken lightly as is shown by several texts in which an investigation was said to have been undertaken to determine whether the appointment would be in order. Reasons given for the fitness of an appointee (ana gullubu t̃ābi), besides those mentioned, include the fact that a person's elder brother is already an appointee.<sup>3</sup> The unshaved state while holding an office was, at least at one time, anomalous and to be rectified.<sup>4</sup>

One of these texts points to a temporary change in policy as regards this practice in the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib by its not being observed.<sup>5</sup> This was evidently not welcomed and the reinstitution of the practice was called

1. K.122:r.6, ABL 43: <sup>1</sup>šangû(ŠANGA) ... <sup>1</sup>Sîn (XXX) - abhe(PAP.MEŠ)-rabû(SU) ug-da-lib-šû; 83-1-18, 58:5', LAS 310: <sup>1</sup>U.U ša šarri(LUGAL) abi(AD)-ka (b') ú-gal-lib-ú-ni, cf. also 12' and 13'; K.891:1b, Pinches, op.cit., in which Aššurbanipal writes: ana <sup>1</sup>urigallûtu(URĪ.GAL<sup>tu</sup>) ug-tal-lib, cf. also 1.18.
2. Cf. VAT 9194, AnOr 8,48, a letter to temple workers, saying: (21) ... ba-lu-uk-ku-nu la nu-gal-li-ib-šû, 'without you we will not appoint (i.e. shave) him', which leads to the conclusion that if permission would have been granted, the writers would have performed the shaving themselves.
3. VAT 9194:27-28, ibid.: ú <sup>1</sup>dMarduk(AMAR.UTU)-šūma(MU)-idin(MU) ahi(ŠEŠ)-šû ra-bu-ú ... qu-ul-lu-ub.
4. 83-1-18,58, LAS 310, in which a boy, taking his father's position after the latter's death, 'stands with his hair': issi(TA) p̃erte izzaz(11.10' & 11'). The letter written then says: šum-na ma-her ina inī(IGI) šarri(LUGAL) bēlī(EN)-ia (13) lu-gal-li-bu-uš, 'If it is acceptable to the king, my lord, may they shave him'. This shows that gullubu is done to the hair (p̃ertu).



for during Esarhaddon's reign.<sup>1</sup>

In summary, people considered for some positions related to the temple during the NA and NB periods were investigated and, if found adequate, were given an appointment. This appointment was in many cases marked by the shaving of the hair of the appointee. If someone was serving in a position in which it was expected to have a tonsure in this manner without being so shaved it would be a matter of note. The interpretation of 'to consecrate' has been put forward for this action of appointment.<sup>2</sup> Since this word in English contains the connotation of a special reservation for the holy, which is also found in the semantic field of gullubu, it would be a better translation than 'to appoint'.

.....

5. K.122:r.4, ABL 43: issi(TA) re-e-ši gal-lu-bu, 'Previously they were shaved'; (r.27): ket-tū ina la-bi-ri a-du libbi(SA) IŠarru(MAN)-kēn(GIN) IŠin(XXX)-abbe(PAP.MEŠ)-rabū(SU) (r.28) gal-lu-bu, 'True in the olden days, until those of Sargon and Sennacherib, they were shaved'.

1. There must have been some call for an explanation of why the practice was not being carried out in Esarhaddon's reign, which this letter answered. l.r.5 - ki-i an-ni-i šu-u-tū te-en-šu-nu - 'for this is their story'.
2. E.g. CAD G, p.130 (sub gullubu 2); AHW., p.297 (sub gullubu II 2); AJSL XXII (1906), p.52, n.6.

5.4 There are several texts in which the phrase muttata(m) gullubu(m) occurs in the context of a punishment. All of the OB passages have muttatam gullubum as the punishment of making a false accusation<sup>1</sup> or claim.<sup>2</sup> In all three of these legal cases, the judges are involved in exacting or calling for the shaving. The word muttatam is interpreted to mean 'half',<sup>3</sup> but there is controversy as to what 'half' is meant.<sup>4</sup> From the previously discussed uses of the verb gullubu, however, it is suggested that what is meant is that half of the hair is shaved as part of a punishment. It has been pointed out that this symbolic action did not deprive the recipient of his status as a free man, which was expressed in a different way, during the OB periods.<sup>5</sup>

1. E.g. LH 127: šum-ma a-wi-lum ... ú-ba-nam ú-ša-at-ri-iš-mu la uk-ti-in šu-a-ti ma-ḥar da-a-a-ni i-na-ad-du-ú-šu ú mu-ut-ta-šu ú-gal-la-bu, 'If a man makes an accusation (i.e., points a finger) and does not prove it, that man shall be cast before judges and they shall shave his 'half'.'
2. In VAT 1547, VAS VIII 102, two people make a claim and the case is tried by the judge: (6) /di-nam ú-šá-hi-zu-šu-nu-ti (7) /aš-šum ir-gu-mu ar-nam i-mi-du-šu/ (8) /mu-ut-ta-as-su/ ú-ga-li-bu, 'He shall try the case since he made a claim. They shall impose a penalty upon him. They will shave his 'half'.' The lacunae are supplied by M. Schorr in VAB 5, p.264 from Bu 91-5-9, 2190, CT VIII, pl.45, (cf. VAB 5, p.263, n. on 14-16) in which a claim was made (12) dajānu(DI.KUD.MEŠ) di-nam /ú-šá- (13) hi-zu-šu-nu-ti-ma (14) mu-ut-ta-as-su (15) a-na gu-ul-lu-bi-im (16) id-di-nu-ma, 'The judges tried the case; they gave his 'half' to be shaved'.
3. AHw., p.689 (sub muttatu(m)).
4. Cf. ArOr XVII (1949), pp.392ff.
5. I.e. gullubum ... ana kaspim nadānu in e.g. MAH 15954:19 in Szlechter Tablettes 19 (pl.XI).

The two later texts are lexical lists. One is a copy of a Sumerian-Akkadian phrasal lexicon and does not supply any context for the phrase,<sup>1</sup> but in the other the phrase again occurs in the context of punishment.<sup>2</sup> This is very similar in form to OB texts in which the adopted parents,<sup>3</sup> master,<sup>4</sup> or sister,<sup>5</sup> were not to be disrespected.<sup>6</sup> In all of these OB texts, however, the pattern is different from the NB text since in the former the person is shaved and then sold, but here he is just expelled (1.33, u ina bīti ušēšišu).

The gesture muttatu(m) gullubu(m) could be interpreted as to demean or degrade.<sup>7</sup> If this was the reason for shaving half of the head, part of the punishment would have been the scoffing and ridicule to be received when the recipient appeared in public. If so, this would explain why the recipient was to be taken through the town in the NB text.<sup>8</sup>

1. K.4580 in CT XIX, pl. 30 - NA.

2. ana ittišu 7 III (MSL I, p.102) - NB: (29) šum-ma ma-ru a-na um-mi-šu (30) ú-ul um-mi at-ta iq-ta-bi (31) mu-ut-ta-as-su ú-gal-bu-ma (32) a-la-am ú-sa-ab-ha-ru-šu, 'If a son says to his mother, "You are not my mother", they will shave his 'half' and cause him to pass through the town'.

3. MAH 15954:18, Szlechter Tablettes, pl.XI; YBC 11174:8-10 in JCS 14, p.32; ARM VIII 1:12-16 (pl.1); AO 4498:10 in TCL I, 146 (pl.LXXIX); Bu 88-5-12, 210: 17-19 in Meissner BAP 95 (pl.44).

4. 91-5-9, 374, 7-9 in CT VIII, pl.22b; 91-5-9, 707:4-7 in CT VI, p.37.

5. Bu 88-5-12, 21; 13-15 Meissner BAP 89 (pl. 41).

6. la i-pa-la-ab: VAT 8802:19 in KAJ 6 (pl.4).

7. Cf. VAB 5, p.522; Bezold, Glossar, p.97b for this interpretation.

8. Cf. p.167, n.2. above where the same punishment is used.

This ridicule would be an appropriate punishment in the OB cases in which, by making accusations and claims, the person accused would be subject to the same reaction on the part of the people until they were proved false. The symbolic meaning of degrading and causing ridicule is strengthened by the Hebrew parallel in which half of the beard was shaved as a sign of derision,<sup>1</sup> even though this is not in the same legal context.

6 ḥasāpu, 'to pluck out'

ḥasāpu occurs in an NA text with pērtu, 'hair', as its direct object in the context of defeat<sup>2</sup> and in a ritual from the same period with šārtu, 'hair', as its object.<sup>3</sup>

When Sargon II defeated Muṣaṣir and pillaged it, Ursa, the king of Urartu, upon hearing what was happening:  
 (411) ... qaq-qa-riš iḫ-pal-si-iḫ na-aḫ-lap-a-te-šu  
ú-šar-riṭ-ma uš-še-ra i-de-e-šu (412) iš-hu-uṭ ku-bu-us-su  
pi-rat-su iḫ-si-ip-ma ú-rep-pis<sup>4</sup> lìb-ba-šu i-na ki-lal-li-šu  
bu-up-pa-niṣ is-sa-bi-ip (413) iz-ziz-ma šur-ru-šu iḫ-mu-ṭa  
ka-bat-tuš i-na pi-i-šu it-taš-ku-nu qu-ub-bi-e mar-šu-ú-te,  
 'he threw himself to the ground, he tore his garments, he

1. II Sam.10:4 (D): וַיִּקַּח חֲנָנִי אֶת-עַבְדֵי דָוִד וַיִּגְלַח אֶת-חֲצֵי בְּיָמֵם  
וַיִּכְרַת אֶת-מְדֻיָּהֶם בְּחֲצֵי עַד-שְׂתֹרֶתֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁלַחם  
 'Hanun took David's servants and shaved off half of their beards. He cut their garments in half as far as their buttocks, and shut them away' (par. I Chr.19:4).

2. ICL III:412 (pl. XX) - NA.

3. K.479 IV:r.13' in LKA 70 (pl.94). The performer of the ritual is to: (13) 7-šú iqabbi(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA)-ma šārat(SÍG)  
pūti(SAG.KI)-šú u sissikta(TUG.SÍG)-šú ta-ḥas-sip, 'Seven times will he say it (i.e., the incantation), the hair of his forehead, and his hem, he will pluck'. The action has no apparent meaning other than as a ritual act.

bared his arms, he stripped off his royal headdress, he pulled out his hair, he struck his heart with both (his fists), he threw himself on his face, his heart became furious, his liver burned, in his mouth were made cries of bitterness' (TCL III).

This action, which is done by a defeated king to himself, occurs as one of a list of things done when he learned of the defeat of one of his cities. These actions do not shed much direct light on the context since they themselves are ambiguous.<sup>1</sup> In the immediate context there is rage and bitterness which suggests that the action is an expression of these emotions.

.....

4. So read by CAD K, p.356 (sub kilallan). F. Thureau-Dangin in TCL III, p.64 read it as ū-dan-nin. For this meaning of rapāsu cf. SMN 528 in HSS IX 10 (pl.VIII) in which a slave says to the judges: (4) ... Tuppia ša ēnti(NIN.DINGIR.RA) (5) irtapsannimi, 'Tuppia, (slave) of the high priestess, beat me'. That this is the correct interpretation of the verb is shown by the following actions of the judges, who inspect the blows on the slave's body (cf. p.143 n.5 above). Cf. also 1929-10-12, 1:58 in Thompson Asb. pl.2 (var. in III R 15 1:3) and MSL I, p.170:5b for examples of the same meaning of rapāsu

1. E.g. buppānišu issabbap occurs in a text describing the action of a sick man (K.2001 IV:4.12 in ABRT I, pl.17. Cf. also CAD B, p.322 (sub buppāni a). When used in the context of defeat (i.e., K.2074 II:27 in CT XXXV, pl.11) the verb is in the G-stem and the action is a metaphor for the defeat itself.

Chapter VComparison and Conclusion

A As noted in the Introduction,<sup>1</sup> a comparison of the different gestures, both intralinguistically and interlinguistically, is a part of this research. This can be done only after an analysis of the gestures in each context in which they occur. This analysis seeks, as far as possible, to establish the meaning of the gesture, whether literal, metaphorical, or idiomatic, each time it is used. This first step having been undertaken in the preceding chapters, the comparisons can now be made. These include a study of the different gestures used in similar contexts, both within a single language and also comparatively between Hebrew and Akkadian. Also included is a diachronic analysis to see if the meaning of the gestures shifted during the course of time. In addition, there is a study of the division of the various semantic fields, which are indicated by different contexts, between the gestures involved. Finally, there is a comparative analysis of the semantic ranges of the different gestures.

1. Chapter I, pp.8-9.

B                      Literal and metaphorical uses.

1     As can be expected, gestures which are either literal or metaphorical often share their semantic fields with other gestures. The gestures which occur in the context of disease illustrate this. pāna subburu and muḥba maḥāṣu are both used to describe debilities, based on a physical symptom which in the former case is apparently literal and, in the latter, either literal or metaphorical.<sup>1</sup> Both גָּלַח

(גָּלַח) and pērtā gullubu occur as part of the diagnosis of, and purification from, a disease ( גָּלַח ), as well as its treatment (gullubu).<sup>2</sup> All three of these are steps in a process and thus share the same semantic range. In both languages, shaving is associated with disease during the same period, i.e. mid-first millennium B.C. There is no significance in the shared field, however, since shaving in the case of a skin disease is a matter of necessity, rather than being dependant upon some cultural influence, which could be paralleled in the two countries. The different division of the semantic field between Hebrew and Akkadian is noteworthy.

1. II C 2.2, p.64, n.2 and 3 and III D 3, p.110, n.1.

2. IV C 1, p.151 and n.1 (cf. also C 3, p.190) and IV C 5, p.161, n.4 and 5.1, pp.162-163 respectively.

2 The natural action undertaken in order to speak to a person or a god who is above the speaker, either literally or metaphorically, is to 'raise the head, face'. In both languages the gesture occurs in this context,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the context of simply looking a long distance.<sup>2</sup> In Hebrew, the gesture is done in order to address the queen who was literally above the speaker, while in Akkadian, gods are addressed. The redirection of attention towards, or away from, someone or something is also done by 'turning the head, face'.<sup>3</sup> Also, the head or face is covered in order to forestall contact.<sup>4</sup>

In each instance, the actions are literal or metaphorical with the 'attention' directed or diverted by turning or covering the head or face. 'Seeing' or 'attending to' has been further extended to include 'understanding', which is also withheld if the head is

1. נָשָׂא רֹשׁוֹ : III B 1, p.91, n.4; rēša našû: II B 3, p.31, n.1 and possibly rēša dekû II B 6, p.50. See also pāna-našû, p. 190 below.
2. rēša ullû: II B 5, p.45, n.3.
3. gaqqadam subburum: II D 1, p.69 and פָּנָה פְּנִים : III D 1, p.109; סָבַב פְּנִים : III D 2, pp.109-110; pāna(m) subburu(m): III D 3, pp.110-111.
4. Possibly gaqqada katāmu: II G 3.2, pp.88-89. Also הִסְתִּיר פְּנִים : III F 1.1, pp.114-115; קָסָה פְּנִים : III F 3, p.119; קָפַר פְּנִים : III F 4, pp.120-121.



covered.<sup>1</sup> Since 'seeing', 'paying attention to', and 'understanding' are part of the same semantic range, it is not surprising that the head or face, which is the seat of these actions, is used in these phrases. This field is divided slightly differently in each of the two languages.

פָּנִים is used exclusively, except in the case of 'understanding', when רָאָה is used. 'Understanding' does not occur in the semantic range of the Akkadian gestures and both 'face' and 'head', i.e., pāna and rēša/qaqqada, are used where only פָּנִים was found in Hebrew. In one case, i.e.,

כָּפַר פָּנִים,<sup>2</sup> the choice of verb is significant, the phrase being more meaningful than a literally synonymous phrase would have been.<sup>3</sup> The other verbs are simply extended metaphorically.

The different phrases for these gestures occur in different periods. 'Turning the head' is only found in the early second millennium, while 'turning the face' is used in Akkadian from that period until the mid-first millennium and in Hebrew, in the mid-and late first millennium. 'Raising the head' only occurs in mid-first millennium texts while 'covering the head and face' occur earlier in Hebrew (early until late first millennium) than in Akkadian (late first millennium). This could, as in every case, be an accident of discovery.

1. פָּנִים : II G 1, pp.84-85.

2. II F 4, pp.120-121.

3. Cf. C 2.3, pp.184-186.

3 With the metaphorical transfer from the literal 'head' to the 'top',<sup>1</sup> it is a logical step to use the noun with verbs for 'raising' and 'making high' in building inscriptions. This step was taken in Akkadian with the resultant meaning of 'to build (high)',<sup>2</sup> from the early second until the mid-first millennium, but it was not done in the Hebrew literature.

4 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, some non-animate or abstract thing is metaphorically the subject in the clause "... covers the face" in the context of a strong emotion, e.g., fear or shame.<sup>3</sup> The two languages are very similar in the choice of subjects of the actions. They include darkness, which produces fear, as well as the emotions themselves. In each case, the object of the clause is completely overwhelmed by this emotion. This is a shift from being literally covered, e.g., with water, to being metaphorically 'inundated' by a strong emotion. The Hebrew phrase occurs throughout the first millennium while the phrase with būna occurs in late second - early first millennium texts and that with pāna in those from the mid-first millennium.

1. Cf. II, p.10.

2. rēša(m) našû(m): II B 3, p.31, n.3 and rēša(m) ullû(m): II B 5, p.45, n.1.

3. פָּנִים קָפָה : III F 1.3, p.117; pāna/būna arāmu: III F 8 and 9, pp.126-127.

C

Symbolic and idiomatic gestures<sup>1</sup>

The extension in usage of some gestures from the literal to the symbolic is apparent in some cases, even though the exact meaning of the gesture in a particular context is not discernable from an analysis of the idiom itself. This semantic expansion can at times be traced by the occurrence of the gesture in texts in which it is used literally as well as in those in which it is an intermediate stage of extension. There are also cases in which the connection between the symbolic use is only clear in retrospect, i.e., after the symbolic meaning has already been independantly determined.<sup>2</sup>

At other times, any connection between the literal gesture and its idiomatic meaning has been completely lost, at least to the present-day student of Hebrew and Akkadian. These do not share the possible advantage of verifying the validity of an interpretation internally, i.e., within the gesture itself, but must depend solely on contextual support for a given interpretation.

1 Symbolic gestures whose interpretation is open to internal verification after it has been discovered include those in which the action is a natural response to an emotion or to an outside stimulus.

1. Symbolic gestures are a form of idiom since their meaning, which is more than the sum of the meaning of the component parts, is not completely discernable from an analysis of the symbolic gesture itself.

2. Cf. U. Weinreich's conclusions on p.4 above.

1.1 In both Hebrew and Akkadian pride is symbolised by a raised head.<sup>1</sup> This is a natural response to the emotion and so there is no surprise that it occurs in both languages, which use verbs having the same semantic range of 'raising'. Hebrew uses both the 'head' and 'face' in this context, while Akkadian has only the former. The 'raised head' in Hebrew occurs throughout the first millennium, while the 'raised face' only occurs in the last half of this time span. In Akkadian, on the other hand, rēša ullû occurs in the early part of this period while rēša šaqû is found only in the middle. In both languages, some of the phrases are negated and used of humiliation,<sup>2</sup> while others, not being negated, are used of pride.<sup>3</sup>

1.2 A raised head is also a natural response to joy and is symbolic of it. This is found in Akkadian,<sup>4</sup> but not in Hebrew. In this case, both of the verbs, i.e., šaqû and elû, occur in the stative (Zūstand) G-stem, and thus do not describe the actual action of raising the head, but rather stress the resultant state. The two sure cases of this usage are of early and middle second millennium date, while the doubtful one is mid-first millennium. This would

1. נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ : II B 1.2, pp.14-15; הָרִים רֹאשׁ : II B 2.1, pp.27-29; rēša ullû: II B 5.2, pp.46-47; הָרִים פָּנִים : III B 2, pp.101-102 and possibly נָשָׂא פָּנִים : III B 1.6, pp.100-101. Also possible is rēša šaqû: II B 4.1.3, pp.41-42.

2. rēša ullû and הָרִים פָּנִים.

3. rēša šaqû and נָשָׂא פָּנִים, הָרִים/נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ.

4. rēša šaqû: II B 4.1.1, p.40 and rēša elû: II B 5.1, p.46. Also possibly II B 4.1.3, pp.41-42.

argue against the latter having this meaning, especially since the other possible interpretation of the gesture, while not having contemporary Akkadian parallels, does have parallels with similar gestures from the Hebrew at the same period.<sup>1</sup>

These two emotions being expressed by the same gesture show how comparison in retrospect can support an interpretation but not necessarily help in its formulation. The gesture itself is ambiguous until studied in context, which assists in determining its correct meaning in each case. In this case, however, the texts in which these two emotions occur are from different periods.

1.3 Fear is indicated, in the mid-first millennium at least, by a shaking head.<sup>2</sup> This is a natural reaction and is paralleled in the same context of fear in Hebrew by a similar action, i.e., 'trembling' רָעַד.<sup>3</sup> No part of the body is the explicit object of the verb, while in Akkadian it is the head.

1. Cf. 1.1, pp. 177 and n.1.

2. gaqqada nâšû: II E 3.1, p.73.

3. Ex.15:15 (E) and Ps.55:6 (Davidic).

1.4 Also during this period the shaking head is indicative of wrath.<sup>1</sup> The action could be the spontaneous result of uncontrolled wrath, or else it could have been a deliberate gesture on the part of the enraged person in order to show his anger. The context does not assist in determining which interpretation is correct.

These last two uses of qaggada nâšu illustrate the vital importance of the context for overcoming the ambiguity of a gesture since the same action is indicative of two different emotions during the same period.

Another gesture in the same context of wrath during this period is 'pulling out the hair'.<sup>2</sup> Both it and the shaking head appear to symbolise spontaneous rage since they are brought about by a single action, whether trespass<sup>1</sup> or defeat.<sup>2</sup>

1.5 Several different symbolic gestures are used to indicate grief. They include 'covering the face',<sup>3</sup> and 'shaving the hair',<sup>4</sup> in the late first millennium. The former action seems to be centered upon the mourner, who hides his face from others in order to hide his grief. The gesture also serves

1. qaggada nâšu: II E 3.2, pp.73-74.

2. pēta hasāpu: IV C 6, pp.169-170.

3. לִנְסָה פָּנִים : III F 5, p.121; pāna kullulu: III F 7.1, pp.124-125.

4. נִלְוָה בְּרֹאשׁוֹ : IV C 2.1, 2, pp.156-157; pēta gullubu: IV C 5.2, p.163 and possibly רָאשׁוֹ נִלְוָה : IV C 1.2, pp.153-154.

as an indication to others of the emotions of the bereaved. Shaving is an external indication of sorrow which is symbolic rather than functional, as hiding the face had been in order to secure privacy. 'Burnishing the head' is also done in the context of grief during an even later period.<sup>1</sup> This could have usurped the place of the other phrases for 'shaving' which had been used earlier in Hebrew literature, but the lack of other phrases in Ezra-Nehemiah could simply be a historical accident since they are such a restricted corpus. The use of **לְשַׁבֵּץ** possibly as late as a century before these passages (using conventional dating) in a similar context suggests that this is the case. It is noteworthy that none of these gestures were used in this context of mourning prior to the mid-first millennium.

1.6 Scorn and ridicule are symbolised by several gestures, including 'striking the cheek',<sup>2</sup> 'burnishing the cheek',<sup>3</sup> and 'shaving half (of the head)'.<sup>4</sup> All three of these actions are demeaning to the one against whom they are directed. 'Burnishing' and 'shaving' also cause the person to be physically marked so as to be a visible object of

1. **קָרַט** : IV C 4.1, pp.158-160.

2. **לְהִיָּקָה** : IV B 1.1 and 1.2, pp.144-145; lēta mahāsu: IV B 2.2, pp.148-150 (cf. also IV B 2.1, p.147).

3. **קָרַט לְהִיָּקָה** : IV C 4.2, pp.160-161.

4. muttata gullubu: IV C 5.4, pp.167-169.

derision, so greatly increasing his suffering. 'Shaving' is used as a punishment in the early second millennium and in the mid-and late first millennium. In these periods the ridicule and scorn which results from this symbolic action thus serves as part of the punishment.

'Shaking the head' also shares the semantic field of scorn.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the previous gestures, which were done directly to the person scorned, this is done reflexively and indicates the attitude of the performer towards the person despised, not by a physical assault upon his person but rather as a strictly symbolic gesture.

These gestures symbolising scorn occurred in Akkadian early in the second millennium and then again, after a long time gap, concurrently with the Hebrew gestures during the first millennium.

1.7 'Shaking the head' also occurs in the context of shocked disbelief and horror at the sight of the destruction of a city in first millennium Hebrew texts.<sup>2</sup> This could well be a sign of sympathy at the terrible fate which is seen. Once again, the correct interpretation of these ambiguous gestures must be determined from the context.

1. שרא ננ : II E 1, p.71; ננע ראש : II E 2, pp.72-73.

2. שרא ננ : II E 1, pp.70-72; ננע ראש : II E 2, pp.72-73.



2 The extension in the use of several other gestures can be seen since there are extant texts in which both the literal and the extended meanings occur.

2.1 Two stages in the extended use of gestures literally and idiomatically meaning 'to help, comfort' occur in Akkadian texts. Literal comfort and care is indicated by 'raising the head' of a sick person.<sup>1</sup> 'Assistance' is also expressed by the same and similar phrases in contexts where the action was probably not carried out but the phrase is an idiom.<sup>2</sup> All of these cases use verbs literally meaning 'to raise', with našû(m) used from the early second to the mid-first millennium. The other two verbs, i.e., šugqu and matāhu, only occur in the mid-first millennium in this context.

'Assistance' is also indicated by the phrase būnam našûm in early second millenium texts.<sup>3</sup> Instead of one person performing the action upon another in order to help them, as had been done with 'raising the head', this phrase indicates a reflexive action directed towards (ana) the person aided. The idiom is distinct from those previously mentioned in this section since it is the face, rather than the head, which is raised. This idiom has a much shorter period of use than the previous idiom.

1. rēša(m) našû(m): II B 3.2, p.33.

2. Loc.cit., pp.33-34; rēša našû: II B 3.5, pp.38-40; rēša šugqu: II B 4.2, pp.42-44; and possibly rēša matāhu: II B 7, p.51.

3. III B 5, p.107.

2.2 Another extension in the use of a phrase denoting a physical action is that of 'striking the head' found in a military context.<sup>1</sup> In each case the verb itself literally indicates a physical blow, which is extended to include a military attack, both of which fit well into the context of these phrases. In each case the object of the action is a group of people who are hostile toward the one who inflicts the 'blow'. The result of the action is of a longer duration than a simple attack, so each has been interpreted as indicating the defeat and subjugation of the enemy. The phrases themselves are idiomatic, since they have a greater meaning than can be obtained by internal analysis, but they are not symbolic, since the phrases themselves mean the actual defeat rather than denoting a gesture which serves as a representation of something. The texts in which the idioms occur are early in the literature of the two peoples, i.e., early to mid-second millennium in Akkadian texts and early to mid-first millennium in the OT.

In both Hebrew and Akkadian, the subject of the idiom is either Yahweh or the king, who is thus credited with bringing about the victory. This is the case in all of the examples except qaqqada rasû/rašû, II C 4, p.67, in which it is the king's army, rather than the king himself, to whom the credit is due. This could reflect a shift from the concept of the all-powerful king, but this distinction within the

1. רָאָה / רָאָה : II C 1, pp.54-56; qaqqadām mahāšum: II C 2.1.1, pp.57-58; rēšām nêrum: II C 3, pp.66-67; qaqqada rasû/rašû: II C 4, p.67.

the same semantic range cannot be counted as significant since there are not enough examples of the latter usage for comparative purposes.<sup>1</sup>

The same meaning of 'defeat, subdue' is also found with the simple verb of the idioms in contemporary or later texts. This could be an example of the elision of the body part from the idiom without loss of meaning, which is possible since, by the definition of 'idiom', the meaning does not arise from the components.

2.3 There are a number of idioms in both Hebrew and Akkadian which indicate special or preferential treatment. The majority include 'raising'<sup>2</sup> or 'bringing'<sup>3</sup> the head or face, while one is 'covering the face'.<sup>4</sup> Those in which the 'head' occurs mean 'to single out', with the 'head' being an example of synecdoche for the 'person' or 'individual'. This meaning of the idiom can be confirmed in retrospect. Not only is the use of 'head' significant, with the stress on individuality as was noted above, but so too are the verbs, all of which involve raising or making higher, thus separating from the rest of the people or objects involved. The metaphorical raising of a person from among his fellows is an example of singling him out.

1. Cf. D. Stuart, 'The Sovereign's Day of Conquest', BASOR 221 (1976), pp.159-164 where הוה יום, and similar concepts in the ancient Near East were associated with the idea that the ruler himself was able to win a war in a single day. The Akkadian examples which he cites are early, i.e., Ur III to El-Amarna.
2. נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ : II B 1.3 and 1.4, pp.10-27; rēša našû: II B 3.3, pp.34-36; rēša šaqû: II B 4.1.2, p.41; rēša(m) ullû(m): II B 5.3, pp.48-49; נָשָׂא קַנִּים : III B 1.1 - 1.4, pp.90-99.

Each of these idioms is neutral, stressing only this act of distinguishing between several people or objects. It is the context in which the idiom occurs which determines whether the action is desirable or not.

The idiom in which the 'face' is raised also denotes 'setting apart', but has the additional, more specific meaning, of 'to show special favour or honour'. This action is desirable for the beneficiary of it, but is not considered so by the writer of some texts, as is shown by its condemnation in some contexts.

The last two idioms, i.e., קָפַר פָּנִים and pāna(m) (w)abālu(m), specifically mean 'to pardon', which is part of the same semantic range as 'to show special favour'. They are also desirable for those to whom the pardon is given, and also are acceptable practices, as shown by the contexts in which they occur.<sup>1</sup>

Of the idioms involving 'raising', rēša(m) ullû(m) was in use for the longest period, i.e., from the early second until the mid-first millennium. The other Akkadian idioms only occur in texts from the mid-first millennium. נָקָא פָּנִים is used throughout the first millennium while

.....

3. pāna(m) (w)abālu(m): III B 4, pp.104-107.

4. קָפַר פָּנִים : III F 4, pp.120-121.

1. Cf. B 2, pp.173-174.

שָׂרָא נָשָׂא is found only in the second half of that period. The two idioms involving the face occur early in the respective literatures, i.e., early and mid-second millennium in Akkadian and early first millennium in Hebrew. The former is also used in a negative form during the second and first millennium as a personal epithet for enemies, so the idiom continued in use in this form for a longer time than in the active, verbal form.

3 In addition to those symbolic gestures and idioms in which the relationship between literal and extended uses are discernable, at least in retrospect, there are also those in which this relationship has been completely obscured.

3.1 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, 'shaving (the hair)' is part of the semantic field of consecration, but with opposite meanings in each language. In Akkadian this is an important act symbolising the beginning of the consecration of a person for service in a temple.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the action is shown by its performance in the presence of a god, to whose service the person is dedicated. This symbolic action is only found in texts from the mid-first millennium.

In the OT, on the other hand, the hair is shaved to symbolise the termination of a period, usually of a limited duration, in which a Nazirite was especially dedicated to

1. gullubu: IV C 5.3, pp.164-166.

Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> This act was also performed in the presence of the god, Yahweh, for whom the Nazirite had been set apart. There is, in addition to the termination of a period of consecration, an element of purification in this shaving,<sup>2</sup> which is not in evidence in the Akkadian texts. In the Hebrew literature, the action occurs during the mid- and late first millennium.

3.2 Several idioms among those studied occur in Akkadian but have no counterpart among those in Hebrew.

3.2.1 Idioms denoting the assumption of responsibility for something are among those only found among those studied in Akkadian.<sup>3</sup> Of these, qaqqadam kullum, which is restricted to guaranteeing the meeting of defaulted payments, occurs only in texts from the early second millennium. It is restricted to a financial responsibility.

pūta maḥāṣu occurs during a lengthy time period, from the mid-second until the mid-first millennium with the preponderance of texts coming from earlier in this period. pūta emēdu also is used during the mid-second millennium, but does not continue in use beyond this time. During this period, both of these idioms are in the context of releasing a person

1. יְהוָה : IV C 1.1, pp.152-153.

2. Cf. B 1, p. 172.

3. qaqqadam kullum: II F 2.2.1, pp.80-81; pūta našû: IV A 1, pp.128-131; pūta maḥāṣu: IV A 2, pp.132-138; pūta emēdu: IV A 3, pp.139-140.

from imprisonment. In the case of pūta mahāṣu, the prisoner is released in order to make a payment. If this is not forthcoming, the third party, i.e., the one who 'struck the forehead' of the prisoner, is obligated either to pay a forfeit or else ensure that the prisoner is returned to prison. Therefore, the idiom involves at times either the assumption of financial responsibility or responsibility for the presence of a person. pūta emēdu, on the other hand, only concerns the liability for the presence of a person, whether a prisoner or a slave, which is guaranteed by the third party.

The verbs in these two idioms are directed towards different objects. In the first, i.e., pūta mahāṣu, the subject of the action 'strikes the forehead' of the prisoner, while in the second, i.e., pūta emēdu, the action is reflexive, with the subject 'inclining his own forehead'. It is not clear whether there is any significance in this distinction since there is an amount of overlap within the semantic range of the two idioms in the area of responsibility for the presence of a person.

Later occurrences of pūta mahāṣu (in the Nuzi texts) are in a different semantic field since they do not concern imprisonment, but rather some specific obligation for which the one who 'strikes the forehead' assumes financial responsibility if the first party defaults. This is apparently also the case in the examples of the idiom from the latter part of the first millennium, but they do not supply enough information to confirm this interpretation.

pūta našū, which only occurs during the first half of the first millennium, also involves a wide range of legal obligation, but does not concern a monetary payment. The subject of the idiom, upon the default of the original contracting party, assumes responsibility for the fulfilment of the obligation which was to be performed. It is not his duty to pay an indemnity if the obligation is not carried out, but rather to see that it was done.

The semantic range involving the assumption of responsibility is therefore divided among several idioms. This division changes over the course of time with, in one case, a shift in the meaning of one idiom. As early as the beginning of the second millennium, an idiom was used for the assumption of financial responsibility (qaqqadam kullum). Within the next few centuries another idiom had taken its place (pūta maḥāšu). This new idiom also denoted non-financial responsibility, which it shared with yet another idiom (pūta emēdu). By the middle of the second millennium pūta maḥāšu had shifted to mean a strictly financial responsibility, which continued to be its meaning through the first millennium. Meanwhile, pūta emēdu had ceased to be used for non-financial responsibility, so in the early first millennium pūta našū was used instead.

3.2.2 Two Akkadian idioms also share the semantic range of accusation and punishment.<sup>1</sup> Both occur only during the

1. qaqqada(m) maḥāšu(m): II C 2.1.2, pp. 58-63; muhba maḥāšu: II C 2.1.2, p. 65. Accusation leading to a legal suit which followed by judgement and punishment are all part of the same semantic range.



early second millennium in peripheral areas. gaqqadam mahāsum enjoys a wider geographical distribution, being found in texts from Alalakh, Mari and Susa, while muhba mahāsu is restricted to Susa. The examples from Susa occupy the 'punishment' area of the range, while those from Mari and Alalakh concern starting a formal legal suit.

3.3 Three Akkadian idioms have parallels among neither the Hebrew nor Akkadian idioms studied. In texts from the mid-second until the mid-first millennium the idiom rēša našû has non-animate objects as its grammatical object.<sup>1</sup> In each case the idiom is part of a process in which it appears to mean 'to determine the extent' of the object of the idiom.

rēša(m) kullu(m) is also part of a process in the texts in which it is used, mainly in the early second millennium, but also in the mid-first millennium. The action meant by the idiom is to be done in immediate anticipation of a further action taking place. The meaning 'to have ready and waiting' was determined for this idiom.<sup>2</sup>

pāna našû, from the late second until the mid-first millennium, denoted desire or covetousness in addition to the idea of 'paying attention' which was contained by similar gestures.<sup>3</sup> This additional nuance is only shown by the context of the idiom.

1. II B 3.4, pp.37-38.

2. II F 1.1, pp.76-79.

3. III B 3, p.103. Cf. B.2, pp.173-174.

D

## Comparative semantic ranges

A perusal of the previous two sections reveals that many gestures have more than one meaning. In addition, several gestures, whether similar, as designated by synonymous phrases, or different, often share the same, or related, meaning. The latter has just been studied and now an analysis will be made of the former, i.e., the semantic ranges of the various gestures and how they compare intra- and interlinguistically. To a large extent this analysis reiterates the previous material.

1 'Raising the head' is designated in Hebrew by two phrases, i.e., נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ and הָרִים רֹאשׁ, and in Akkadian by five, i.e., rēša(m) našû(m), rēša šaqû, rēšam ullûm, rēša matāhu and rēša dekû. The latter, in its apparent usage as part of an oath,<sup>1</sup> has no parallels among the gestures studied in either Akkadian or Hebrew. This is due to the limited, technical use of the idiom.

The rest of the meanings of these phrases are shared by one or more of the other members of the group. Both נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ and rēša našû indicate decapitation,<sup>2</sup> the shared range being due to the literal use of the phrase. 'Care' and 'assistance' are indicated by several of these gestures.<sup>3</sup> These are based on a similar extension in

1. II B 6, p.50.

2. II B 1.1, p.14 and 3.3, p.36, n.2.

3. V C 2.1, p.182.

meaning from the literal action of lifting a sick person's head to help him. Several of these phrases, as well as those in which the object is the face, i.e., נָצַא/נָקַרְיָם פָּנִים, also are indications of pride<sup>1</sup> and joy.<sup>2</sup> This shared range is the result of the actions involved being natural reactions to these emotions. Several members of this group, as well as 'raised face', also are used to mean 'singling out' for some purpose.<sup>3</sup> The difference in meaning between the phrases using 'head' and 'face' lie in the positive connotation of the latter for the object of the phrase, as compared to the neutral connotation of the former.

2 'Striking the head' is indicated in Hebrew by נָקַד/נָקַדְתָּ מִיָּדָא and in Akkadian by qaqqada(m)/muhha mahāšu(m), rēšam nêrum, and qaqqada rasû/rašû. All of these, except muhha mahāšu, share the meaning of 'defeat, subdue', which arises from the metaphorical transfer of the meaning for the verbs involved from a literal blow to a military attack.<sup>4</sup> The lack of rēšam mahāšum among the extant texts is noteworthy, but no significance for this can be determined. muhha and qaqqada mahāšu share the additional meaning of 'accuse, bring suit', as well as 'to punish'. The latter meaning is found only in Susa to the east, while the former is restricted to Alalakh and Mari to the north-west of

1. V C 1.1, p.177.

2. V C 1.2, p.178.

3. V C 2.3, pp.184-186.

4. V C, pp.183-184.

Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup> These technical, legal idioms are not paralleled in Hebrew or Akkadian among members of this group. 'Striking the face' is only used literally.<sup>2</sup>

3 The only phrase literally meaning 'to turn the head' is qaqqadam suphurum which means at least 'to redirect attention'.<sup>3</sup> In both Hebrew and Akkadian, however, 'turning the face' has this same meaning.<sup>4</sup> In Hebrew, the phrases involve the metaphorical 'turning away' of apostasy,<sup>5</sup> which is not contained in the Akkadian.

4 In both Hebrew and Akkadian, the phrases for 'shaking the head', i.e., נָהַךְ/נָנֹץ רֹאשׁ and qaqqada nâšu, indicate strong emotions, but the two languages designate different feelings by them. In Akkadian, wrath or fear are meant,<sup>6</sup> while in Hebrew, it is scorn or sympathy.<sup>7</sup> These emotional responses can be reflexive and involuntary in each case. The significance of the different emotions supplied by the action in the two languages cannot be determined..

1. V C 3.2, pp.189-190.

2. III C, p.108.

3. II D 1, p.69.

4. V B 2, p.173-174.

5. III D 1,2, pp.109-110.

6. V C 1.4, p.179 and 1.3, p.178 respectively.

7. V C 1.6, pp.180-181 and 1.7, p.181 respectively.

5 Phrases indicating 'seizing, holding the head' occur only in Akkadian, i.e., rēša(m)/qaqqada(m) kullu(m). The meanings of the former, i.e., 'to remember', a technical term in mathematical texts, and 'to hold ready and waiting', are not shared by the latter phrase, nor by any other studied here. This is apparently due to the technical nature of the first of these two meanings and the idiomaticity of the second.

qaqqada(m) kullu(m) does not share the semantic usage with rēša(m) kullu(m), but it does with a number of phrases in which pūta(m) is the subject in the context of 'accepting responsibility' for something, i.e., pūta našû/maḥāsu/emēdu. While these phrases all share this same general semantic range, the periods in which they occur differ, as does the division between them of the semantic field.<sup>1</sup>

This technical use of these phrases is also unique among those studied.

The phrase 'seize the face' is not paralleled in its metaphorical meaning of 'to take the front'.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. V C 3.2.1, pp.187-189.

2. III E, pp.111-113.

'Covering the head' and 'covering the face' are both symbolic of grief in Hebrew and Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> This is a natural response when faced with this emotion since it is something which is private, so their common use of the same gesture is not surprising.

The same gesture also denotes 'not paying attention' in both languages.<sup>2</sup> This is a metaphorical extension of the phrases involved which took place in Hebrew and Akkadian.

Both also denote literal veiling.<sup>3</sup> In the Hebrew passage the face was covered to avoid recognition, while in the Akkadian letters, the head was veiled prior to travel, so different parts of the head were covered for different purposes.

In addition, in both languages an emotion metaphorically 'overwhelms' the person, as indicated by the phrase 'to cover the face'.<sup>4</sup>

In Akkadian, the face of a dead person, and of a bride, and are veiled, as is shown by a simile,<sup>5</sup> but the meaning of the gesture is not clear. There is also no Hebrew parallel among those phrases studied. Nor is there a parallel to the same gesture accompanying prayer in Akkadian.<sup>6</sup>

1. V C 1.5, pp.179-180.

2. V B 2, pp.173-174. Cf. V D 3, p.193.

3. II G 3.1, p.87-88; III F 1.2, pp.11b-117.

4. V B 4, p.175.

5. III F 6.2, pp.122-123.

6. III F 6.3, p.124.

7 'Striking the cheek' in both Hebrew and Akkadian constitutes an insult. The action is demeaning to the one to whom it is performed. This is possibly the reason why the same gesture is used in the same context among speakers of both languages.

8 Both languages have several verbs which signify some form of depilation, e.g. קצץ, מרט, גזז, גלח, gullubu and basāpu. In both languages the object, i.e., hair, is often elided, leaving the verb to carry the entire semantic load.

Apart from literal shaving as part of personal toilet, both sets of texts use 'shaving' as part of the treatment of, or purification from,<sup>1</sup> an illness. The same action also occurs in both languages in the semantic field of 'consecration' but with different symbolic meanings, i.e., starting and ending such a consecration.<sup>2</sup>

In both languages, 'shaving' is also used as a symbol of mourning, with several different verbs being used in Hebrew while only gullubu is used in this context in Akkadian.<sup>3</sup>

In Akkadian, muttata gullubu describes a punishment, part of which is the degradation and mocking of the person to whom it was done.<sup>4</sup> This mocking is also shown by a similar action of depilation in Hebrew, with 'half' being shaved in one case.<sup>5</sup>

1. V B 1, p.172.

2. V C 3.1, pp.186-187.

3. V C 1.5, pp.179-180.

4. V C 1.6, pp.180-181.

5. IV C 5, p.169, n.1.

Finally, in Akkadian the hair is pulled out in an angry gesture, but this is not paralleled in the Hebrew corpus. This could, however, be simply due to the limited material available in the OT.

## E Conclusions

This study has shown that both Hebrew and Akkadian are rich in examples of gestures involving the head and its parts. This is evident from the frequent occurrence of this very limited number of gestures, which themselves are only a portion of those in which some part of the body is the direct object. Not only do these gestures occur in contexts in which they are literal, with no additional connotations, but also are used with metaphorical, symbolic and idiomatic meanings.

The method of analysis undertaken, i.e., study of the different phrases in the various contexts in which they occur, has proved a useful means of determining the meanings of the gestures. Where there has been difficulty in arriving at an interpretation; the fault has not been on the part of the method, but rather on the paucity of examples of a gesture in a particular context. Apart from the assessment of the suitability of an interpretation in the context, the meaning determined has also been internally verifiable, at least to a certain extent, in most cases. This has been so when the relationship between the literal phrase and its extended meaning has been recognisable, e.g. in metaphors and some symbolic gestures. In these instances, there are generally parallel phrases, usually indicating the same gesture, which have the same meaning, both within one language and also comparatively between the two.



When the meaning is idiomatic and technical, being restricted to a specific, limited situation, this parallelism does not exist either between or within one language, except when different phrases occur at different periods. It is, therefore, possible at times to gain support for a particular interpretation of a gesture if it is paralleled by a similar gesture having the same meaning when it is used in a similar context in the other of the two languages. This can only be used after the meanings of both have been determined, however, since it is not possible to be certain in advance whether the parallel semantic relationship will hold, nor to which meaning of the parallel gesture. This comparison can only be of use retrospectively,<sup>1</sup> or to suggest a possible meaning which must be tested within the individual language before it can be adopted.

It has not been possible to determine from this study if there has been borrowing between Mesopotamia and Israel since the shared meanings could have arisen from parallel semantic extension rather than from borrowing. There is no parallel use of a gesture with a technical, restricted, idiomatic meaning which is used in similar contexts in both languages and which could point to borrowing.

1. Cf. U. Weinreich's conclusion on p.4 above.

In several instances, this analysis results in interpretations of gestures different from those previously held, or else provides a better understanding of them.

The action of 'raising the head', while being wrongly interpreted as 'to single out' in one instance,<sup>1</sup> does in fact have this meaning in a number of cases in both Hebrew and Akkadian.<sup>2</sup> The various occurrences of this action have previously been interpreted in different ways, but the research here shows that one meaning explains a number of contexts rather than requiring a number of different meanings of the same gesture.

An analysis of the occurrences of 'striking the head' in a military context shows that a simple 'attack' is not meant, as has been understood previously, since the action signified by the phrase results in a longer lasting effect. The translation 'to subdue, defeat' is proposed as adequately reflecting this duration.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, it is noted that the choice of the verb in the single occurrence of *כִּפֹּר פָּנָיו* is significant.<sup>4</sup>

The division of the semantic range of the different idioms meaning 'to accept responsibility for' was determined with each phrase being seen to occupy a specific place in this range. Note is also made of the change of this division through time.<sup>5</sup>

1. II B 3.3, p.36, n.2, par.2.

2. Cf. V C 2.3, pp.184-186 and further references noted therein.

3. II F 4, pp.120-121 and V B 2, pp.173-174.

4. V C 2.2, pp.183-184 and further references noted therein.

5. V C 3.2.2, pp.187-189 and references.

rěša(m) kullu(m) in mathematical texts has previously been interpreted idiomatically, but it is shown that in fact the clause is literal with rěša(m) as its subject rather than its object.<sup>1</sup> The same phrase is shown to mean 'to be ready and waiting' in a number of contexts for which several different interpretations have previously been given instead of this one meaning, which explains all of the cases.<sup>2</sup>

1. II F 1.1.1, p.76.

2. II F 1.1.2, 1.1.3, pp.76-79.

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